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# Sibling Interaction: Sisters' Use of Advice Episodes in the Construction of Relational Identities

Melissa R. Gornick

*Eastern Illinois University*

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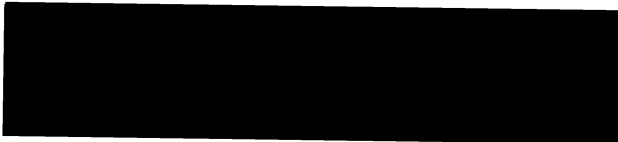
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**Sibling Interaction: Sisters' Use of Advice**  
**Episodes in the Construction of Relational Identities**  
(TITLE)

BY  
**Melissa R. Gornick**

**THESIS**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF

**Master of Arts of Communication Studies**

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY  
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

**2004**

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Running Head: SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

Sibling Interaction: Sisters' Use of Advice Episodes in the Construction of Relational  
Identities

Melissa R. Gornick

Eastern Illinois University

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of  
Communication Studies in the Graduate College of Eastern Illinois University, 2004

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine how sisters collaboratively construct advice episodes in naturally-occurring conversation and how they used these advice episodes in their negotiation of relational identities. Thus, two research questions were addressed: 1) How do sisters collaboratively construct advice episodes in naturally-occurring conversation, and 2) How do sisters use advice episodes in their negotiation of relational identities. The database for the study consisted of four sister sets who audio taped naturally occurring conversation. Jefferson's (1984b) transcript notation system was used to transcribe sibling conversations which contained advice episodes and the transcripts were analyzed using the method of conversation analysis. The findings of the study determined that advice episodes were composed of three sequentially ordered activities: 1) problem construction, 2) issuing of advice, and 3) receipt of advice, and that the interactional work required to accomplish these activities differed depending upon whether problem construction was initiated by the potential advice-giver or by the potential advice-recipient. Moreover, it was found that the construction of these episodes served siblings in their ongoing negotiation of relational identities and, so, the sibling relational bond. By nature, advice episodes involve identity issues and the siblings in this study oriented to these concerns and addressed them. This was accomplished, in part, by the use of conversational resources to make claims of authority, to challenge or "downplay" such claims, and to interactionally resist problem construction, the issuing of advice, and advice receipt.

### Introduction/Rationale

Family communication is a very important sub-domain of interpersonal communication. The family is the chief socializing agent for most people and, therefore, the relationships a person has with family members influence the way he or she interacts with and relates to peers and romantic partners. With about 80 percent of the population having siblings (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993), one would think that siblings would be a highly researched domain of inquiry, but this is not the case. While a great deal of research has been devoted to examining parent-child and marital relationships (Fitzpatrick & Badzinski, 1994), the sibling relationship, often the most enduring relationship of a person's life, remains understudied. The levels of contact between siblings change over the course of the lengthy relationship. Sibling relationships become more voluntary when siblings move out of the house in early and middle adulthood (although many siblings stay together throughout their lifetime) and are, then, continuously affected by jobs, geographic distance, marriages, and time (Goetting, 1986).

Sibling relationships are not only important during the first stages of life, but are also significant because of the length of the relationship and because they are often sources of conflict, emotional support, and friendship (Minuchin, 1985; Vandell & Bailey, 1992). For example, Fitzpatrick and Badzinski (1994) state, "Siblings tend to compare themselves with one another on a number of dimensions such as attractiveness, intelligence, accomplishments, and so forth" (p. 748). Clearly, such comparisons can lead to conflict and, therefore, siblings' first experience with interpersonal conflict is often with their siblings and other family members.



Not only are sibling relationships sources of conflict, they are sources of emotional support, and they impact the way people interact with peers. Models of family development show that siblings are likely to share secretive and intimate information with each other, which makes these relationships very special (Dunn, 1993). Self-disclosure is a part of sibling relationships and is thought to develop within the family context. Parent-child and sibling relationships are where most children first learn to self-disclose and, so, these relationships provide a model for self-disclosure with others for the rest of a person's life (Jourard, 1958).

In addition, the emotions experienced in sibling relationships influence people's friend/peer relationships. Lockwood's (2001) study of how the sibling relationship influences adult interaction demonstrates that the warmth of sibling relationships is correlated with the quality of peer relationships. Through self-report data of young children (about age 8), Lockwood (2001) learned that sibling warmth was associated with more positive peer relationships, while sibling conflict was associated with both positive and negative outcomes with peers. These siblings ended up with either positive or negative conflict styles based on what they learned from each other. So, for many people, the sibling relationship is the first "peer" relationship and it influences their adult peer relationships.

According to Fitzpatrick and Caughlin (2002), sibling relationships are a source of companionship, similar to peer relationships, due to their "intensity, familiarity, and intimacy, as well as siblings' recognition and sharing of interests" (p. 746). However, even more than peers and other family members, siblings share time and space and, so,

both conflict and rivalry as well as closeness, are important aspects of the sibling relationship (Raffaelli, 1992).

One conversational activity that addresses all of these aspects of the sibling relationship is advice-giving and advice-receiving. A study of older adolescent sibling relationships by Tucker, Barber, and Eccles (1997) explored siblings' advice about life plans, satisfaction of support from their sibling, and the sibling's influence on life plans. The results showed that younger siblings received more advice from and were more influenced by the advice when older siblings provided it than vice versa. In addition to this, the female dyads reported getting more advice and being more influenced by a sister than the male dyads. Cross-sex dyads fell in between. Hence, it appears that advice given by an older sibling to a younger one is expected and more likely to be accepted, especially in female-female relationships. Brown and Levinson (1987) would explain that advice delivered by a younger sibling to an older one is weightier because it raises face concerns about the older sibling's competence and, so, his or her role as a teacher and mentor to their younger siblings (e.g. Dunn & Kendrick, 1992).

Advice-giving has long been considered one type of social support and many studies researching social support demonstrate that social support is directly related to a person's physical and psychological well being and to the quality of their relationships. (Burleson & MacGeorge, 2002). These studies of supportive communication rely upon individual self-report data in their research. Many researchers have made specific calls to address the study of human communication in a more social way. Baxter (1998) discusses how researchers need to veer away from the psychological view of communication because "One of our taken-for-granted is that meaning originates in the

individual's mind, gains expression in his or her communicative actions, and is deciphered in the mind of an Other" (p. 61). Taking for granted that meaning originates in the mind and is expressed in individual behavior overlooks the influence of a communication partner and the demands of face-to-face interaction. Baxter, therefore, calls for a more interactive approach to the study of communication, which means that researchers should focus on how close relational partners co-construct their relationships, identities, and social activities. Baxter (1998) explains her view by stating,

The hegemonic assumption of interpersonal communication, including the study of communication in personal relationships, is that we are in the business of understanding *personal* communication, e.g. communication that originates within the sovereign individual. When we turn this assumption on its head and focus instead on how the *person originates in communication*, a different intelligibility is brought into the scholarly conversation. (p. 62)

Many other scholars share Baxter's concerns and argue for the value of a more social view of and approach to the study of human communication (e.g. Berger, 2002; Knapp, Daly, Albada, & Miller, 2002; Metts & Planalp, 2002; Tracy & Haspel, 2004).

Existing research on sibling relationships has also relied upon individual self-report data about siblings' beliefs, perceptions, and feelings (e.g. Fitzpatrick & Badzinski, 1994; Lockwood, 2001; Minuchin, 1985; Vandell & Bailey, 1992; and see Weick, 1979, on retrospective sense-making). This research has provided family communication scholars valuable information about the nature and challenges of sibling relationships. However, studies examining naturally-occurring interaction between siblings are rare. Conversation analysis, a fundamentally social approach to the study of human communication, is especially helpful in understanding family communication. Charles Goodwin (1979) explains that "sentences in natural conversation emerge as the products

of a process of interaction between speaker and hearer and that they mutually construct the turn at talk” (p. 97-98). By studying naturally-occurring conversation, one is able to analyze conversational content, structure, and sequence as well as interactants’ use of particular resources and, so, the work (Fishman, 1983) accomplished in everyday interaction. Speaking of family communication specifically, Staske (1999) argues,

Since ordinary talk is the primary resource for the construction of both the first identities persons regularly enact and the most enduring relationships of most persons’ lives, methods which take seriously participants’ use of that resource in the service of those activities appear to offer significant contributions to explanations of the communication which constitutes family life. (p. 3)

The study of naturally-occurring conversation also recognizes that “all interactions are potentially problematic and occur only through the continual, turn-by-turn, efforts of the participants” (Fishman, 1983, p. 90). Communication is not, then, simply the expression of preformed thoughts (e.g. Weick, 1979 for a review of retrospective sense-making) but, rather, communicative actions are co-constructed by conversational partners as they negotiate the demands of face-to-face interaction. One of these demands is the construction and negotiation of identities and, as Tracy (2002) explains, linking identity with everyday talk is important:

With explicit knowledge of how talk links to important identities, you should find yourself better able to be the kind of person you are seeking to be and to more satisfactorily manage the social, work, public, and intimate relationships about which you care. In addition, you will be better able to avoid the inevitable and serious danger of tacit knowledge: presuming that what you know is natural and universal, and that what you take for granted is the only way that a particular identity could be linked to a communicative practice. (p. 6)

Tracy (2002) recognizes here that everyday talk accomplishes identity-work. Through a person's choices about how to talk, identity is created and because identity claims can be challenged, identity work (i.e. "facework") is an ongoing interactional task.

Consequently, this study of siblings' natural construction of advice episodes is designed to further our understanding of such episodes and to explore their use in siblings' negotiation of relational identities. More specifically, this study is a conversation analytic investigation of the practices sisters use in advice episodes with particular attention to how they use conversational resources to manage relational identities and, so, the sibling relationship. Findings from this study will fill a gap in interpersonal communication research by employing a fundamentally social approach to the study of naturally-occurring family interactions and by furthering our understanding of the most enduring relationships of most people's lives.

## Review of Literature

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, current research on sibling communication suggests that this relationship is very important to many people's lives. It is also apparent that advice episodes are routinely used in sibling relationships (e.g. Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 1997) and that the interactants in a sibling relationship consistently work to negotiate identities. Consequently, this chapter will address studies examining the following: 1) sibling relationships, 2) advice episodes, and 3) support.

### *Sibling Relationships*

Studies of sibling relational characteristics have focused on three main issues: (a) factors demonstrating the influence of sex differences on the relationships, (b) the variation in quality of sibling relationships, and (c) maternal impact on sibling interaction and relational quality (e.g. Fitzpatrick & Caughlin, 2002; Howe, Aquan-Assee, & Bukowski, 1999; Howe, Fiorentino, & Gariopy, 2003; Mann, 1993).

A study of siblings by Myers, et al. (2001) explored how relational maintenance behaviors were used in sibling relationships, with a specific focus on an association of these behaviors and sibling liking. By distributing the Relational Maintenance Strategy Scale (Canary & Stafford, 1992) and the Liking scale (Rubin, 1970) to siblings ranging in age between 18 and 91, the researchers found that the use of behaviors such as openness, assurances, networks, and sharing tasks affect the quality of the sibling relationship. When these "positive" behaviors are used, siblings' liking of each other and more positive support are predicted. Female-female dyads were found to use relational maintenance tasks more frequently than male-male and cross-sex dyads. Consequently, it appears that siblings' gender affects their interaction and, so, their relational bond.

A type of face threatening action (FTA) often present in sibling relationships is teasing. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), teasing is a direct threat to positive face and sometimes negative face. A study on verbal aggression by Martin, Anderson, Burant, and Weber (1997) in sibling relationships addressed the relationship between verbal aggressiveness and satisfaction and interpersonal trust. Participants for this study were a volunteer sample of students enrolled in introductory communication courses at a large midwestern university who had at least one sibling. The sample was made up of 115 men and 112 women with a mean age of 22.23. These participants completed a questionnaire that operationalized variables such as verbal aggressiveness, teasing, liking, hurt, and trust. Verbally aggressive behavior, such as teasing, occurs less frequently in female-female relationships than in male-male relationships, with cross-sex relationships being more similar in teasing to the male-male relationships. Relationships with two females or with a female as the older sibling generate more trust and females claim being more hurt by teasing than males (Martin, Anderson, Burant, & Weber, 1997). Consequently, it appears that teasing is a more weighty FTA to females than to males.

Research on twin siblings has focused mainly on heritability because twins create the perfect scientific examination of likeness and difference. Hughes and Cutting (1999) explained that the twins' design allows researchers "to assess the bottom line of transmissible genetic effects on behavior, regardless of the number of genes involved, the complexity of their interactions, or the influence of nongenetic factors" (p. 429). One study focused on communicative adaptability of twins and whether it is heritable or an individual construct that is learned from parents and the environment. Participants in the study were 390 twins attending an annual twins' conference in Ohio. Each agreed to take

a 30-item version of the Communicative Adaptability Scale (CAS). The purpose of the study was “to derive estimates of the heritability of communicative adaptability from data collected through use of a twins design” (Beatty, Marshall, & Rudd, 2001, p. 371).

According to Beatty, Marshall, and Rudd (2001), “Heritability estimates for the dimensions of communicative adaptability were derived from correlations based on identical and fraternal twins' responses to a multidimensional communicative adaptability measure” (p. 1). The results from the measurement indicated that social composure was 88 percent heritable, intelligence was 90 percent heritable, and social confirmation was 37 percent heritable. Variables such as articulation ability and appropriate disclosure were 0 percent heritable (Beatty, Marshall, & Rudd, 2001).

Since sibling relationships are similar to friendships in some ways, studies exploring friendship may be used to understand sibling communication (Fitzpatrick & Caughlin, 2002; Minuchin, 1985; Vandell & Bailey, 1992). These studies give greater insight into the way siblings (as well as friends) interact with each other, which is why it is important to explore them here. A study by Schlenker and Britt (1999) showed that friends work to help enhance the image of their friends in interaction, no matter the sex of the dyad. For experiment one, 86 of 172 participants enrolled in an introductory psychology course who were also in friend dyads were given questionnaires regarding the characteristics of one of their friends and told that their answers to the questionnaires would be given to a person who was to meet their friend. (The other 86 of the dyads were given a questionnaire about the friendship relationship.) This person was going to use this questionnaire to learn what the friend was like, but their friend would not ever see the questionnaire. All the participants believed that their friend would meet someone of the



other sex and that the answers they provided in the questionnaire would provide information for the interaction. When the other party (the one the friend was going to meet) seemed attractive, friends described their friends in more positive ways, and when the other party seemed unattractive, friends described their friends in more negative ways.

For experiment two, students in an introductory psychology course were asked to sign up themselves and one friend to participate in the study. Participants were 117 students (64 women and 53 men) who were paired into dyads of friends and strangers. They were told they would be providing information about the other person who was to be assigned the position of a research assistant and later evaluated on his or her performance. Results showed that people characterized their friends more positively when they had a higher need for social support. Participants took advantage of the opportunity to influence how the researcher would evaluate their friend. Especially when it was perceived that the friend needed image enhancement, it was found that friends often came to the rescue in social situations as well as in situations of cognitive evaluation by using resources to build up the positive identity of a friend. This is an example of people working on each other's identities (and possibly their own identities to play the role of a good friend). Since sibling relationships are often compared to friendships, it may be that identity enhancement is a method siblings use in interaction with one another. Although this study showed that friends help one another with identity work, the identity work here was directed to a third party. It was not, then, constructed in interaction with the friend him/herself and, so, the results are not generalizable to conversations between the friends.

### *Advice Episodes*

Advice is a conversational practice that will be addressed in this study. Advice giving, receiving, and seeking can raise face concerns. As stated by Tracy (1990), “face” involves “the socially situated identities people claim or attribute to others” (p. 210). Brown and Levinson (1987) coined the terms “positive face” and “negative face”. Negative face is the right to determine for oneself what one wants to do. One claims autonomy and independence with negative face. Positive face is a consistent self-image claimed by interactants, which includes claims about particular valued characteristics. Acts by other interactants that violate these claims are considered face threatening actions (FTAs). Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the weight of a face threatening act is based on the sum of the social distance between the speaker and hearer, the power of the hearer over the speaker, and the rank of the act within the culture. Once the weightiness of an FTA is determined, Brown and Levinson (1987) identify four options for delivery of the FTA. The options are: 1) do not deliver the FTA, 2) deliver it bald-on-record (say it obviously), 3) deliver it off-record (hint), and 4) deliver the FTA with “positive” politeness strategies for threats to positive face (e.g., minimize or soften) and “negative” politeness strategies for threats to negative face (e.g., apologies for bothering the other).

Advice is very much a part of sibling relationships. A research study by Tucker, Barber, and Eccles (1997) examined older adolescent sibling relationships and surveyed three sibling relationship characteristics. These characteristics were advice about life plans, satisfaction of support from the sibling, and a sibling’s influence about life plans. Gender and birth order (youngest, oldest, middle child) of the advice-giver and advice-receiver were hypothesized to be variables affecting the influence siblings had on one

another. The study used a pretest-post test design because the researchers wanted to examine how relationships changed with age. The first questionnaire was distributed to 1351 adolescents transitioning from sixth to seventh grade in middle and lower middle class schools in southeastern Michigan. In 1990, these same students, now being young adults, were questioned a second time. One of the variables investigated which is relevant to the present study is the giving of advice about life plans and other personal problems. The results showed that younger siblings received more advice from and were more influenced by older siblings than visa versa. In addition to this, female siblings reported getting more advice and being more influenced by it than the male siblings. Cross-sex siblings fell in between. These findings suggest, then, that advice given by an older sibling to a younger one is more likely to be accepted and to have more influence than advice given by a younger sibling to an older one (especially in female-female relationships). Brown and Levinson (1987) would explain that advice delivered by a younger to an older sibling is a weightier face threatening action because the older sibling routinely claims to know more and to be more capable than his/her younger brother/sister. Older siblings are often teachers and mentors to the younger ones and, so, may be particularly sensitive to challenges of authority (Dunn & Kendrick, 1982).

Goldsmith (1999) studied how the content of messages attends to (or fails to attend to) face concerns. For this study (one of two), one hundred nineteen students from two large state universities tape recorded what they would say to a person experiencing some sort of problem. Each student responded to nine different hypothetical situations, and the responses to three of these were examined in this study: 1) where a best friend failed an important exam, 2) a friend is feeling anxiety about giving a speech the next day

in class, and 3) a close friend has just ended a relationship with her boyfriend. Each response was transcribed word for word. A computer was used to find relevant segments of talk and clusters of words. Findings suggest that advice is perceived as threatening to negative face when it is unsolicited and, therefore, a burden on the hearer. Face threatening actions to positive face may be caused by what advice-giving claims about the advice-recipient's competence. Offering advice is one relevant conversational action when the advice recipient has a problem which he or she is unable to resolve him or herself. Advice-giving can also threaten negative face by interrupting or challenging discussion of the problem and the expression of negative affect and because of the expectation that the recipient should follow the advice (Goldsmith, 1999).

In a second follow-up study, 109 messages created in the first study were evaluated by 233 students taking a questionnaire during the last 10 minutes of their speech communication class or a meeting of their fraternity. They decided on the quality of a message based on the face concerns (both positive and negative) it addressed or failed to address. Messages that were evaluated positively were those that showed an understanding of or sympathy about the problem, and those that suggested not showing emotion about the problem, but at the same time offered a solution for it. Negatively evaluated messages included those that asserted that the problem was not a problem at all, saying the emotional reaction to the problem was inappropriate, and stating that the problem was uncontrollable (Goldsmith, 1999). Goldsmith's (1999) research provides a very interesting inspection of messages that threaten positive and negative face. It demonstrates that the quality of advice messages is evaluated, at least in part, by the degree to which the message addresses face concerns. As such, the ways in which

interactants address those concerns in naturally-occurring conversation appears to be an important question.

One particularly interesting study of advice that did explore naturally-occurring conversations was conducted by Heritage and Sefi (1992) and examined the management of advice giving episodes between Health Visitors and first-time mothers. Health Visitors are nurses in England who check up on mothers for the first five years after a baby is born. They are there to ensure that mothers are taking proper care of their children. The objective of the study was to describe some basic aspects of advice-giving episodes that occur on first visits to the home by the Health Visitors about ten days after the birth of a baby. Heritage and Sefi (1992) describe the ways in which advice-giving is initiated with particular focus on how the parties arrive at the point where advice begins and to discuss the ways in which advice is received and accepted or rejected. The database for the study came from self-administered audio-tape recordings by Health Visitors in a large industrial city in England. They recorded the first six visits to a range of mothers who were evenly distributed as first-time mothers and mothers who had previously had children. This study was based on data from eight primary visits to first time mothers conducted by five different Health Visitors. The audio tapes were transcribed for advice episodes and then were analyzed. The role of a Health Visitor (HV) is to make routine visits to all mothers with children under the age of five, whether the visits are requested or not. Results from the study indicated that HV's initiated and delivered advice in the absence of any clear indication that it was wanted and, often, in the event that no problem was apparent. Little interactional effort was made by the mothers to accommodate the advice-giving during these first-time visits, and the HV's did not interactionally

acknowledge the mothers' knowledge and competence. In response,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the HV initiated advice was responded to passively or with active resistance. The researchers offered four reasons why the HV's gave advice in such ways: 1) extensive hospital experience lead to a diagnosis-treatment type of behavior, 2) first time mothers were considered inexperienced and unknowledgeable, 3) HV's took the situation as an opportunity to interactionally mark expertise and authority over the mother and, 4) HV's have no practical nursing job during their visits and, so, tend to conduct the visit as a problem solving activity.

### *Support*

An important sub-domain of interpersonal communication is supportive communication because it directly influences people's psychological as well as physical well-being (Burleson & MacGeorge, 2002). Supportive communication is related to advice episodes in that advice is considered a type of social support. In their recent review of literature on supportive communication Burleson and MacGeorge (2002) define supportive communication as "...verbal and nonverbal behavior produced with the intention of providing assistance to others perceived as needing that aid" (p. 374). This conceptualization of supportive communication assumes that supportive messages are "supportive" as long as that is the intent of the support-giver. Burleson and MacGeorge (2002), explain that social support has been typically measured and conceptualized as "...perceptions of the availability and adequacy of supportive behaviors or relationships (the psychological perspective) or as the enmeshment of individuals in social roles and networks (the sociological perspective)" (p. 375). Consequently, existing research on supportive communication (and, so, advice) has focused on persons' perceptions, views,

thoughts, and feelings about social support and upon the health effects of social support (e.g. Barrera, 1981; Cunningham & Barbee, 2000; Dunkel-Schetter & Bennett, 1990; Kessler, 1990; & Lakey & Cohen, 2000). This research does not, then, explain the way supportive communication is enacted by the support provider nor does it explain the support recipient's contribution to the supportive episode.

A study by Burleson and Samter (1990) was conducted to discover how specific communication skills of individuals influence the character and quality of friendships. More specifically, it examined the communication skills people think are important in their friendships and it sought to determine whether evaluations of the communication skills varied as a function of interpersonal cognitive complexity. Participants included 410 (176 males and 234 females) college students in introductory communication courses and these students attended two sessions for the study. At the first session participants completed the Communicative Functions Questionnaire, which was developed to measure the importance of communication skills such as comforting, ego support, referential skill, conversational skill, narrative skill, persuasion, conflict management, and regulation. The goal was to discover which of these skills was perceived to be most important to people's friendships. During the second session participants took Crockett's (1965) Role Category Questionnaire, which was used to measure interpersonal cognitive complexity. The measurements determined that affectively oriented communicative skills were rated as more important in friendships than nonaffectively oriented communicative skills. Moreover, among the affectively oriented skills, comforting and ego support were most important and conflict management and regulation skills were second. Cognitive complexity was positively correlated with an increase with the perceived importance of

affectively oriented communication skills, and low cognitive complexity was positively correlated with the perceived importance of nonaffectively oriented communication skill. Consequently, comforting skills, one type of social support, are perceived to be a desirable and often necessary requirement for friendship.

It is important to note that an alternative conceptualization of supportive communication has been articulated by Muskin's (1998) work. Muskin argues that a person can be "overhelped" (over supported) and this can result in the individual feeling "childlike" or shielded from life experiences. Furthermore, people who are "overhelped" may become unnecessarily dependent on others, feel left out of life activities, or end up doubting their own abilities. Also, forcing information on people who are not in the state of mind to understand it ("overinforming") may heighten the stress of the information recipient (Muskin, 1998). Thus, simply having supportive "intent," does not mean that the conversational action is "supportive."

Since supportive communication has been defined in terms of supportive intent, little attention has been given to naturally-occurring interaction. Here are two examples of studies that take seriously the role of naturally-occurring conversation in research. Staske's (2002) study of the use of "fine" in conflict interactions to co-construct the transition from affiliation to disaffiliation develops an interactional conceptualization of "supportive communication." The main database for this study was the video tapings of students and their close relational partners. Students enrolled in an interpersonal communication course at a large Midwestern university were asked to solicit the involvement of a same-sex friend, cross-sex friend, or romantic partner. Participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire about issues that had been influential in their relationship.



The students were taped while having conversations about the issue that was most influential to their relationships and, then, Staske (2002) transcribed the conversations using Jefferson's (1984b) transcript notation system. The original database was twenty-two hours of transcribed conversation and Staske searched to find instances where "fine" was used to transition from affiliation to disaffiliation in conflict interaction. Through Staske's (2002) research, one learns that affiliative responses are accomplished when an interactant aligns with their partner's conversational actions. In contrast, disaffiliation occurs when a participant moves against a partner's actions. Both these tactics occur together when a conversational partner uses resources (such as "fine") to "take over" another person's conversational action and, at the same time, acknowledge the other's action. The speaker here aligns with what the other just said and disaffiliates to take the conversation to another level/place. When "fine" is in a transitional interactional space, and the local environment is one where a transition from affiliation to disaffiliation is relevant, "fine" works to co-construct that transition.

In another study, Staske (1999) examined how problematic emotion was normalized by close relational partners in conversation. For this examination, the same database was used as the one in the previously reviewed article, but data analysis began with an initial screening of the videotape and transcript and was followed by multiple reviews of the tape and transcript to identify segments where a participant made some kind of reference to emotion. These segments were then used for further analysis for the study. Staske's (1999) findings explain that emotional experience can be managed either directly or indirectly in conversation. She explains that "The most straightforward way to construct a problematic emotional experience as 'normal' or 'natural' is to define it

overtly as such..." (p. 68). In addition to clearly defining the emotion as "normal" or "natural", participants can also explain that "everybody" or "people in general" experience similar emotions. Doing these actions are direct strategies for normalizing the emotions of a conversational partner. Interactants can also use indirect strategies to normalize the emotion by "partner-matching" which involves describing similar feelings and experiences. According to Staske (1999), "A second indirect strategy interactants used to normalize problematic emotions involves linking them to some normal or healthy process of individual experience or relational bonds" (p. 74). This particular strategy constructs emotion as part of a larger and more complex social process (such as the management of stress) and, so, the emotion can be seen to be a "normal" part of one's own self-development, or a natural component of relational development. In conclusion, Staske (1999) explains,

The findings of this study suggest that one method of managing such problematic experiences is to 'work on' them so that they can be seen and treated as 'normal' or 'natural' parts of human life and social ties. Normalizing problematic emotions appears to serve social actors by neutralizing the threat posed by the experience while preserving the experience itself and its role in their lives. (p. 82)

Staske (1999; 2002) and Heritage and Sefi (1992) use the method of conversation analysis in their studies. This method allows the researchers to explain the interaction in terms of the actions and accomplishments of the interactants. This method will also be used in this examination of sisters' advice episodes and their use of these episodes in their construction of relational identities. Because conversation is socially constructed and participants co-construct meaning through this activity, conversation analysis is a very useful method for studying naturally-occurring interaction. Social constructionism

helps to further explicate this idea of co-construction. Penman (1992) explains that the social constructionism movement assumes the following: 1) communication action is voluntary, 2) knowledge is a social product, 3) knowledge is contextual, 4) theories create worlds and, 5) scholarship is value laden. The realm of research surrounding the social constructionism movement helps one to understand that reality is created through interaction. Pearce (1995) explains the commonalties among social constructionists by stating,

Constructionists delight in repudiating cherished virtues of 'mainstream' ways of dealing with social life, in appealing to a new canon of virtues, and in making virtues of a new set of practices. We enjoy demonstrations that the verities of our own culture are the product of historically contingent social processes and that the variety of human cultures have in common these contingent social processes of constructing social realities. (p. 89)

Hence, while not all communicators use the same resources to interact, and thereby construct reality, they certainly have the common interactional resources available in their cultural community.

### *Conclusions*

It was demonstrated by this review that teasing (and advice) can be problematic behaviors if recipients consider them hurtful or a "put-down" and they may be seen and treated as a way of claiming power in relationships. If one does an FTA, he or she claims to have the power to do so, however, the interactants' relationship is an important factor in the weightiness of the FTA. Since the study by Martin et al. (1997) did not examine how teasing is constructed in interaction nor how such actions serve in the ongoing negotiation of identities and relationships, all we know is how participants feel about teasing. Similarly, studies of twin communication have focused upon how genetics are

related to communication and, so, we know very little about twins' interaction and this particular sibling relationship appears to present particular identity and relational challenges. Finally, conclusions from the Tucker, Barber, and Eccles (1997) study show how siblings feel about advice, however, it does not explain the interactive process whereby such feelings were constructed. In addition, Goldsmith's (1999) and Shlenker and Britt's (1999) study set up hypothetical situations which do not maintain the natural relational and situational integrity of everyday conversation. Research such as that offered by Heritage and Sefi (1992) gives the community a look at actual advice interaction and other researchers employing a social approach have investigated "supportive" interactions (e.g. Staske, 1999). However, studies of naturally-occurring advice episodes between siblings are non-existent.

Consequently, this review of literature demonstrates that furthering our understanding of both advice episodes and sibling communication requires the examination of naturally-occurring "supportive" conversations between siblings. That is what this study seeks to do and the methods employed for this study are described in the next chapter.

## Methodology

As Chapters One and Two demonstrate, research on siblings' interactional construction of their relational identities is important. This long-enduring relationship is, for most people, a primary source of support and, so, investigating the conversational practices siblings use in the construction of supportive episodes (specifically advice episodes) warrants further research. Hence, this conversation analytic study is designed to answer the following two research questions.

RQ1: How do sisters collaboratively construct advice episodes in naturally-occurring conversation?

RQ2: How do sisters use advice episodes in their negotiation of relational identities?

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the study's participants, data collection procedures, and data analysis.

### *Participants*

The participants in this study are four sets of female siblings. The first set, R&C, includes a twenty-six year old college student, R, who is back at the university finishing her degree after a three year hiatus, and C, a twenty-two year old college graduate who lives at home with her parents. The segments of interaction included in Appendix B come from a conversation where R&C are at home watching television. The second set of sisters is M&A. These sisters are twins and are both twenty years old. The segment of interaction included in Appendix C come from a conversation where M&A are in the chapter room at their sorority house talking. The third set of sisters, B & Family, includes Mom/Mo (age 47), B (age 20), Me (age 15), and D (age 13). B is away at college, her fifteen-year-old sister is in high school, and her thirteen-year-old sister is in middle

school. The two youngest sisters still reside at home with Mom and Dad. The segments of interaction in Appendix D come from an interaction which occurs late at night, following family dinner. The final set of sisters is L&K. L is twenty years old and lives at college and K is seventeen years old and lives at home while attending high school. The conversation in Appendix E comes from a conversation where the women are sitting in the living room watching television and talking.

### *Data Collection*

The conversations analyzed in this thesis come from the conversation analytic Family Communication database developed by Dr. Shirley Bell (formerly Staske) at Eastern Illinois University. In partial fulfillment of the requirements of Dr. Bell's Communication in Families course, students collect four hours of ordinary conversation between themselves and one or more family members of their choice. From that four hours, students transcribe four minutes of conversation and use that to analyze naturally-occurring family interaction. At the end of the course, students are asked whether they would like to contribute their audio tapes to the family communication database (contribution is entirely voluntary and Research Release forms are obtained from all those who so contribute.) In the Summer of 2004, I acted as Dr. Bell's Research Assistant for the development of the Family Communication database. This involved re-transcribing the student's conversations and siblings' interactions were among these conversations. This resulted in the identification of episodes where sisters were engaging in what Burleson & MacGeorge (2002) would consider "supportive communication."

Once all the audio tapes were collected from each sibling set, they were reviewed multiple times. Since supportive interactions were the focus of this study, segments of

conversation that appeared to involve “support-seeking” and “support-giving” were identified and given further study. One type of such supportive interactions involved advice-giving, advice-seeking, and advice-receiving. These episodes were reviewed again, and those where it was apparent that either one sister was seeking advice about a problem or was suggesting of a course of action her sibling could take about a problem were selected for analysis.

These advice episodes were then re-transcribed using Jefferson’s (1984b) transcript notation system (see Appendix A). Staske (1994) explains Jefferson’s (1984b) transcript notation system by stating,

This system is designed to provide an extremely detailed description of the talk as it is uttered and marks overlaps (simultaneous talk by both speakers) and various nonverbal, paralinguistic cues such as changes in volume, pitch, stress, rate, sound extensions, pauses, and various other speech sounds, e.g., laughter, groans, coughs, sniffles, inhalation, exhalation, etc. (p. 86)

From the R&C and M&A conversations four minutes of conversation were transcribed, and from the B & Family and L&K conversations two minutes were transcribed.

### *Data Analysis*

The transcripts were analyzed using the method of conversation analysis (CA). Philipsen (1990/91) explains that “Conversation analysis is concerned with among other things, the documentation of universal (i.e. transcultural) structures in conversation” (p. 227). Furthermore, Pomerantz & Fehr (1997) explain that “The organization of talk or conversation (whether ‘informal or ‘formal’) was never the central, defining focus in CA. Rather it is the organization of the meaningful conduct of people in society, that is, how people in society produce their activities and make sense of the world about them” (p.

65). It is important to note that CA explains the actions people accomplish in ordinary interaction through the conversational practices they perform. Pomerantz (1990) explains that conversation analysis involves the investigation of what interactants are 'doing' with particular social actions, the methods that interactants use in accomplishing particular actions, roles, or identities, and how methods interactants use work; i.e. "their sequential features and interactional consequences" (p. 231). Hence, this study examines the conversational practices siblings employ in advice episodes and how these practices contribute to their negotiation of relational identities and, their sibling bond.

Data analysis began with the close study of the four advice episodes which constitute this study's database. It became apparent that all four advice episodes involved the construction of three sequentially ordered activities, 1) problem construction, 2) the issuing of advice and, 3) the receipt of advice. Further analysis of these structural regularities was therefore conducted. Finally, each advice episode was then analyzed to determine how each set of siblings utilized the conversation in the construction of their particular relational identities. The following chapter of this thesis reports the findings of these two analyses.



## Findings

The study of advice giving originated in early work on social support (e.g. Burleson & MacGeorge, 2001). Research conducted in this area demonstrates that individuals seek help with stresses and problems and, to do this, they regularly turn to close others who may help by giving advice, sympathy, or offering assistance (Albrecht, Burleson, & Goldsmith, 1994). Certainly, advice is not always sought out by advice-recipients and current research shows that advice may be offered even when unsolicited (Goldsmith, 1999; Goldsmith and Fitch, 1997). Goldsmith's (1999) work on advice follows this line in her investigation of advice in troubles' talk episodes. She explains that advice occurs when someone talks about a problem he or she is having and a close relational partner and the troubles' teller "...assume the roles of commiserators who have had similar experiences, joint problem solvers who work together to figure out a solution, a consultant who advises the other what to do, or a critic who shows the other how to mend his or her ways" (p. 309). These studies focus specifically on the act of advice-giving.

Heritage and Sefi (1992) expanded the study of advice by examining the sequence of advice episodes, and findings from their study suggest that advice giving by Health Visitors to new mothers entails the initiation of advice and the receipt of advice. These researchers also explained that "In the majority of our advice sequences, advice was explicitly future oriented and was delivered in strongly prescriptive terms" (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, p. 368). This study of siblings' advice episodes contributes to this line of research in two ways. First, findings demonstrate that advice occurs when a speaker issues a suggestion of a future course of action a hearer should take about a problem the

hearer has and, so, naturally-occurring advice episodes consist of three sequentially dependent sequences: 1) the construction of a problem, 2) the issuing of advice and, 3) the receipt of advice. Second, because advice episodes inherently involve “facework” (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967; Goldsmith, 1999), siblings’ conduct of them contributes to their negotiation of sibling relational identities. This chapter begins by investigating siblings’ sequential construction of the three-part advice episode and this is followed by an examination of the ways in which the conduct of these episodes contributes to the relational identities the siblings construct.

### Advice Episodes

#### *Advice Episodes Where the Construction of the Problem is Initiated by the Potential Advice-Recipient*

The data that has been collected for this study includes several conversations where the potential advice-recipient is the one who presents a problem. While there were no instances of overt, direct requests for advice, there were cases where the advice was made relevant by the hearers’ interactional construction of an “untoward” state of affairs (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). This occurs when the potential advice-recipient details a state of affairs that is treated as particularly problematic.

*Constructing the problem.* The following segment of conversation comes from an interaction between R (age 26) and C (age 22). R has come home for the weekend and she and C are discussing a conversation R had with their mother.

#### **R&C**

- 4 R: =I: ↓know. ((pause)) But- (.) an I’m like (.) so ah: when are you all comin’ ta visit. (.) And she’s like why:. (.) I said cuz I’m really sick an tired: of eatin’ generic ass groceries. I said you have no idea how bad generic ↑soup tastes.  
5 C: Robin, they never came ta visit me.

- 6 R: And she's like (.) so that's all there is an you need me ta visit. I said uh huh.  
 7 C: So why don you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])  
 8 R: [I] dont ↑kno:w.=  
 9 C: =Or why don you jus suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.

The construction of the problem is initiated by R in turn 4 and is completed by her in turn 6. The problem is that R is “sick an tired: of eatin’ generic ass groceries.” and wants her mother to come visit her at college to make her good food. Note that C does not address the articulated problem in turn 5 but, rather, responds to other information offered by R, i.e. their parents’ lack of visits to C when she was in college. So, in turn 6, R elaborates on the problem by reporting her mother’s response to her concern and her own agreement with that response.

The potential advice-recipient, in the first segment of the B & Family conversation, also initiates construction of the problem.

### **B & Family**

- 1 Me: I’m like (.) ↓co:ld but I’m no:t.=  
 2 B: =Maybe you sh↑ould put ↑on something ↑warmer.  
 3 Me: ↑I kn↑ow.=  
 4 B: =How can you wear short sle:eves in this cold weather.

In turn 1, Me informs her older sister that she is “like (.) ↓co:ld” and then goes on with a contrasting utterance, “but I’m no:t.” Hence, Me reports a dilemma, of sorts, about assessing her own, individual body temperature. B’s immediate response (note the latching) does not address the problem “assessment” constructed by Me, but rather, explicitly offers advice about being cold. Note the “sh↑ould” that attends to only the first part of Me’s utterance (i.e. being “like (.) ↓co:ld”).

Another interaction where the potential advice-recipient initiates problem

construction and the potential advice giver takes on an “advisory role” occurs in the L&K conversation. The potential advice-giver’s (L’s) utterances are clearly not a direct offering of advice, however, because the content of the questions she asks is suggestive of a course of action the hearer should take, L can be seen to be enacting an “advisory role.” L (age 20) and K (age 15) are at home discussing K’s boyfriend moving in with their family.

### L&K

- 1 K: I: (.) I know this is bad ↓ti:ming and all: (.) but I’m ↑kinda having second thoughts. ((laughs)) ((pause)) Doesn’t matter though cause he’s (.) ↓comin’ (.) either way °but°. ((pause)) Oka:y. (.) ( ) ((la[ughs]))
- 2 L: [( )]
- 3 K: I(h)t su(h)cks. ((laughs)) (.) Like. ((laughs)) ((pause)) ↑You don’t actually play (this) for people though ↓right.=
- 4 L: =No.=
- 5 K: =>Okay good.< (.) Then I don’t care.  
((pause))
- 6 L: So: (.) you’re having second thoughts about him moving ↑in or about (.) everything dating him altogether.=
- 7 K: =Oh, no:, him ↓moving ↓in. (.) I love ‘im. I (.) don’t have a problem °dating him but° \*I don know ‘bout this whole moving in thing.\*  
((pause))

In turn 1, K informs L that she is having second thoughts about her boyfriend moving in with her family. K begins this turn by constructing the situation as problematic (“bad timing”) and goes on to describe her “second thoughts” as no longer relevant by saying, “Doesn’t matter though”. This turn is marked with laughter that allows K (the teller of the problem) to construct the problematic situation as not too serious (Jefferson, 1984a). L’s response to K is unclear, and, in turn 3, K shifts topic (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) by asking a first pair part question about whether L is going to play the tape of them talking for other people. Immediately in turn 4, L gives a second pair part answer. A

second pair part answer occurs when the hearer gives the relevant response that was created by the first pair part. This topic is closed out by its initiator in turn 5 which works to “clear the way” for further discussion of K’s situation. L does provide uptake on K’s problem in turn 6 by initiating repair (Schegloff, 1992) on K’s utterances in turn 1. The first pair part question “So: (.) you’re having second thoughts about him moving ↑in or about (.) everything dating him altogether.=” solicits clarification of the problem, and so, contributes to its construction. In turn 7, K provides the second pair part answer in dispreferred form (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), by offering an account for her answer. A dispreferred second pair part occurs when the response made relevant by the first pair part is delivered with a preface, account, or significant delay (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). K loves her boyfriend, she just does not know if she wants him moving in. So, the problem is initiated by K in turn 1, taken-up by L in turn 6, and becomes the issue the siblings will address in the remainder of this segment.

The task of problem construction is important because, as will be seen below, problem construction is the interactional task which makes advice-giving relevant. Thus, the nature of the problem as interactionally constructed influences both the construction and quality of the advice provided and, so, its receipt.

*Issuing of advice.* As the segments of conversation analyzed above illustrate, the construction of a problem makes the giving of advice a relevant next action by the hearer. It is not the only relevant next action, however, it is one that the sibling participants in this study often made. This is illustrated in the conversation between R&C. Recall that R has requested that R and C’s mother visit her at college because she is “sick an tired: of eatin’ generic ass groceries.”

**R&C**

7 C: So why don' you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])

8 R: [I] don't ↑kno:w.=

9 C: =Or why don' you jus' suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.

10 R: Wull I did, I wen to both places after I found out how shitty the food there was.  
 ↑Some of the things are ↑okay but some of the things are really ↓gross. ((pause))  
 °Ya kno:w° like the three gallon jugs of water for less than two dollars. [That]'s sweet.

C's utterances in turn 7 and 9 are formatted as questions whose content contains a suggested future course of action which R could take to resolve the grocery problem and, so, they offer advice. R responds to the first "question" with the second pair part answer of "[I] don't kno:w." Because a first pair part question creates a relevant slot for a specific response, C is soliciting a specific course of action from R. R's claim of insufficient knowledge would be explained by Beach and Metzger (1997) as "avoiding confirming and thereby neutralizing others' projects and trajectories by delaying, and possibly rejecting, such actions as invitations and/or requests for action" (p. 2). This claim of insufficient knowledge (Beach & Metzger, 1997) is met by C with more advice-giving in turn 9. C's suggestion in turn 9 is responded to by R stating (in turn 10) that she already went to Walmart to get groceries and, so, C's proffered advice is problematic.

Although C does not offer any more direct advice in this conversation, she continues with "advice-like" actions. Here, C's utterances are suggestive of a course of action, but are not direct advice-giving actions. For example, in turns 32 and 34, C makes some suggestions about R drinking juice. When R states that she could just buy "Kool-Aid" at the store in turn 31, C states that Kool-Aid is not good for R. Then, in turn 34, C further explains that "If you're going to get calories from juice you might [as well get the

nutrients too]”. Thus, this “explanation” is “advice-like” in that it clearly suggests the type of juice which would be best for R to get.

In the B & Family conversation, B is quick to move directly into the issuing of advice following the construction of the problem.

### **B & Family**

1 Me: I'm like (.) ↓co:ld but I'm no:t.=

2 B: =Maybe you sh↑ould put ↑on something ↑warmer.

3 Me: ↑I kn↑ow.=

Instead of soliciting clarification of the exact problem after K's informing in turn 1, B moves directly into the issuing of advice. Such a clarification would have been very relevant due to the ambiguous nature of Me's first turn, i.e., the problem is not completely clear because Me offers two contradictory statements. B gives the advice in turn 2 by stating, “=Maybe you sh↑ould put ↑on something ↑warmer.” This utterance demonstrates that the relevance of advice is dependent upon the construction of the problem. Since Me did not identify being cold as the problematic issue (more of a dilemma), B's issuing of advice loses relevance and quality.

In the L&K conversation, no direct advice is given; however, L takes a “supportive role.” L accomplishes not giving direct advice by asking questions that are built to be heard as a course of action that would be good to do. An example of this kind of question is turn 14.

### **L&K**

11 K: It's not even the- the being around him it's just-

12 L: °Th-° That you can't really get away from him.=

13 K: =Ye:°s°. Like it sounds so me:an bu:t (.) there's times ↑when it's like I wanna go out with the girls, and (.) ↑living with him:, I'm jus gonna te:nd to (.) >spend all my time with< him. (.) Ya know and I don wa:nt it to be like that because if by

- some chance we do break <sup>↑</sup>up I'm cutting off all my <sup>↑</sup>relationships like with  
<sup>↑</sup>anybody else [ya know.]
- 14 L: [You <sup>↑</sup>haven't] done that yet. (.) Have you talked to him about it?  
 ((pause))
- 15 K: Sort of. We've <talked about it (.) but-> (.) this is sort of a new feeling for me so I  
 don- °I haven't really said anything.° (.) I'm not gonna tell him I have second  
 thoughts of him living with °me°.

Further explanation of the exact problem occurs in turns 11, 12, and 13 (where K explains that she is worried about her and her boyfriend spending too much time together). L asks a first pair part question, "Have you talked to him about it?". The "it" here is addressing the potential of K and her boyfriend spending too much time together. L builds the question in turn 14 so that the hearer may make conclusions about what would be a good thing to do. K gives a second pair part answer in dispreferred form in turn 15, where she accounts for not discussing the issue with her boyfriend. Never, in the conversation between L and K, does L offer overt advice. She enacts an "advisory role," however, by facilitating further discussion of K's problem and asking questions which indirectly suggest options K could take to resolve the problem of her "second thoughts".

*Receipt of advice.* Receipt of advice may come in many different forms. An advice-giver may or may not receive uptake on the advice he or she offered. If the advice-giver does receive uptake, it may be in the form of an acceptance or rejection, however, other options including resistance, repair, or clarification are also possible. This is illustrated in the R&C conversation.

### R&C

- 6 R: And she's like (.) so that's all there is an you need me ta visit. I said uh huh.
- 7 C: So why don' you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])
- 8 R: [I] don't <sup>↑</sup>kno:w.=
- 9 C: =Or why don' you jus suck it up an go ta <sup>↓</sup>Walmart.
- 10 R: Wull I did, I wen to both places after I found out how shitty the food there was.  
<sup>↑</sup>Some of the things are <sup>↑</sup>okay but some of the things are really <sup>↓</sup>gross. ((pause))



°Ya kno:w° like the three gallon jugs of water for less than two dollars. [That]’s sweet.

When C offers advice in turn 7 (immediately following the construction of the problem), R does not take a position of acceptance or rejection in turn 8. Instead, she states, “[I] don’t know.” This allows her to avoid accepting or rejecting the advice offered in turn 7 (Beach & Metzger, 1997). In turn 9, C expands on the advice by offering a first pair part question, “=Or why don’ you jus suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.” This advice gives R a more specific course of action. However, in turn 10, R dismisses the advice C offered. Her response to C’s first pair part question, is a second pair part answer in dispreferred form. Turn 10 begins with a preface (“Wull”) and goes on to provide an account that makes the advice irrelevant. R already did go to Walmart, and, so, C is not telling R anything new. Therefore, the prior utterance by C, the advice, was not treated as needed or relevant because R has already tried this solution to the problem.

As C stays in her “advisory” role for much more of the conversation, R negotiates C’s suggestions.

### R&C

31 R: [Maybe I] should just buy Kool Aid ((pause)) [( )]

32 C: [That’s not] good for you  
at a:ll:.

33 R: I know. (.) So I need ↓ju:ice.

34 C: If you’re going to get calories from juice you might [as well get the nutrients too]

35 R: [Might as well drink juice]  
(.)

In turn 12 (not seen here) when C suggests that R can get her pop at the generic grocery store, R states, “↓Oh ↓no I’ve gotta have good ↓stuff.” This statement by R is heavily marked (note the stress and altered pitch) and, so, works as a strong rejection of C’s suggestion. In these turns, too, R resists C’s advice by claiming existing knowledge (“I

know”) of the remedy. However, R “accepts” some of C’s advice in turns 33 and 35. In turns 32 and 34, C suggests that R should be buying certain types of juices and in turn 33 R states, “I know. (.) So I need ↓ju:ice.” Therefore, R aligns with C’s suggestion, however, the “I know” allows her to treat the suggestion about getting juice rather than Kool-Aid as something that she already knew and was planning to do. This is clearly accomplished in turn 35, when R finishes, in an overlap, C’s reissuing of the suggestion (in turn 34) with “[Might as well drink juice.]”. This finishing of C’s statement once again allows R to claim knowledge about the issue. If she did not know anything about what C was telling her she would not be able to finish her sentence, but because she is “in the know,” she is able to “advise” herself without the help of C.

The B & Family transcript provides an excellent demonstration of the advice-recipient resisting the advice.

### **B & Family**

2 B: =Maybe you sh<sup>↑</sup>ould put <sup>↑</sup>on something <sup>↑</sup>warmer.

3 Me: <sup>↑</sup>I kn<sup>↑</sup>ow.=

4 B: =How can you wear short sle:eves in this cold weather.

5 ( ): ( )

6 Me: °It’s pretty easy actually. (Because, I don’t like how I look in long sleeve shirts)°

7 B: You don’t like how you look in a long sleeve shirt.

Me’s response, in turn 3, to the advice provided by B in turn 2, is, again, a claim of existing knowledge which, in this case, is heavily stressed with altered pitch. Claiming knowledge and, so, competency, in handling the problem constitutes resisting the advice because Me asserts that she already knows the proper action to take when she is cold. Hence, this utterance, in this sequential location, treats B’s advice as “inapposite” (Heritage, 1998) or, in some way, problematic since the relevance of the advice depends

fundamentally upon the hearer's knowledge and competency. Then, in turn 4, B asks a first pair part question that requests the hearer (Me) to provide an account for her actions. In turn 6, Me provides the second pair part answer in dispreferred form by offering an account for why she is wearing short sleeves. Me's account in turn 6 is addressed by B, in turn 7, when she initiates repair on it with "You don't like how you look in a long sleeve shirt." This question works to point out that Me's account does not address the problem of keeping warm. Note B's emphasis on the word "look." Instead of addressing the issue of warmth, Me addresses the issue of how she looks. This shift in focus to appearance works to resist the advice issued in turn 2.

*Advice Episodes Where the Construction of the Problem is Initiated by the Potential Advice-Giver*

As the analysis above demonstrates, when the potential advice-recipient initiates the construction of the problem, he or she makes advice a relevant next action by the hearer. This section of the chapter explores advice sequences where the potential advice-recipient does not initiate the construction of the problem and, so, this task is attended to by the potential advice-giver. As will be seen, in these instances, additional interactional work is often required to construct the problem and to make it topic. The relevance of advice is dependent upon the existence of a problem, and, so, when advice is offered in a conversation without the interactional construction of a problem, it is "off topic." Consequently, the issuing of advice by the potential advice-giver requires that he or she first "...establish a problem..." (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, p. 377) and, as the segments of conversation analyzed below demonstrate, this can be interactionally challenging.

*Constructing the problem.* One instance where the potential advice-giver initiates construction of the problem occurs in a conversation between M&A. M&A are twin sisters (age 20), and are alone in the sorority meeting room and are having a discussion about the events of the day.

**M&A**

- 1 M: •(S(h)o d(h)o you want to hear• about the- the ↓grade idea I had for you-  
 2 A: Oh for me:?=  
 3 M: =Yeh-.  
 4 A: Oh is it actually for me?=  
 5 M: =Yeh-.  
 6 A: Oh:. Okay.=  
 7 M: =It's so you can get (.) a better grade in Human (.) •Phys:iology•(hh).=  
 8 A: =↓O:↑kay.  
 ((tape break))  
 9 M: (( ) Okay- (.) So (.) you know how you took that test with) Shi:zuchard?  
 (.)  
 10 A: Yes:.=  
 11 M: =And it said you were an ↑audio learner?  
 ((pause)) [( )]  
 12 A: [W]ell it said I was an ↑audio learner but then it said I was the ↑other one: = More so than the ↑audio learner. Whadaya want me to record cla:ss?  
 (.)  
 13 M: Yeh (maybe). [Re]cord. But- (they) also- (.) (That) ↑al↓so (means) you have to=

In this conversation, M (the potential advice-giver) begins with a presequence, or an utterance that pre-figures an upcoming action (Schegloff, 1984). Turn 1 projects the action of giving A advice about a problem A has with her grade in her Human Physiology class. In the face of repetitive resistance to the construction of a problem in turns 2 and 4 (and minimal uptake in any turn provided by A), M further specifies the problem between turns 7 and 13. Turns 9 and 11 are supportive of the upcoming advice in that they provide additional information relevant to it. This makes sense because M is building a case for the existence of a problem which A has consistently resisted. This resistance by A is accomplished in turns 2 and 4, where she questions who the suggested “↓grade idea” is

“for”. Since M and A are the only two in the room, questioning who the advice will be given to appears unnecessary. However, these actions do delay delivery of M’s projected action. M explains so much because the relevance of advice is dependent upon the construction of a problem and A’s conversational actions have complicated that.

Another example of an advice sequence where advice is not solicited and, so, the potential advice-giver works to establish the problem occurs in the B and Family conversation (segment two).

### **B and Family**

- 84 ? : [( )]  
 85 Mo : [Uh] (.) [( ) ha]ve (her) contacts in.  
 86 B : [↑ME:GAN (.) ↑BA:CH!]  
 87 ? : [( )]  
 88 Me : [↑Wha:t?]  
 89 Mo : [Brandy] sh↑ouldn’t she have those out (.) by now?=  
 90 B : =>Don’t your< ↑eye↓balls (.) hurt you.  
 91 Me : No.=  
 92 B : =They should. Take em out.=  
 93 ? : =[[((laughs))]  
 94 Mo : =[She sle]eps in ‘em all the time. Which is- you’re gonna end up hurting your eyes in the future.=  
 95 B : =[Yeah]  
 96 Mo : [(Take em)] out now.=  
 97 B : =You don’t wanna ruin yer eyeballs, [so that you hafta wear glasses] all=  
 98 Mo : [(your eyes have no)]  
 B : = the time.

In turn 85, Mo constructs the problem by stating, “Uh] (.) [( ) ha]ve (her) contacts in.”.

She is speaking to B, her oldest daughter, about Me, her younger one, still having her contacts in at such a late hour. It is very late at night (around 3:00 a.m.). Me resists problem construction in turns 88 and 91 and, so, Mom and B’s turns 85 through 98 are devoted to this task. First, in turn 86, B “scolds” Me by saying her name in a blaming tone. This action supports Mom’s construction of the problem by emphasizing that Me is

doing something wrong. In turn 88, Me asks, “↑Wha:t?”, which is other-initiated repair (Schegloff, 1992) on B’s expression of disapproval/astonishment in turn 86. This other-initiated repair works to resist the construction of the problem by soliciting repair on a clear and emphasized utterance. Therefore, the repair initiator serves to suggest that the disapproval/astonishment is not warranted. It is also important to note that it is in a place where acknowledgment of the problem could be. Me could say that she realizes the problem does exist. As Me resists treating having her contacts in as a problem, Mo and B issue utterances that extend, support, or reissue the problem until turn 98. In turn 89, Mom asks B, “sh↑ouldn’t she have those out (.) by now?=” Mom is actively seeking the opinion of B, however, B does not answer her mother but, rather, asks Me, “=>Don’t your< ↑eye↓balls (.) hurt you.”. While dealing with resistance from Me in turns 88 and 91, Mo and B co-construct the problem by aligning with each other. In the second TCU of turn 92, B gives the first pair part order to “Take ‘em out.” Following this, in turns 93 through 98, Mo and B’s utterances contribute to the construction of the problem.

*Issuing of advice.* The issuing of advice by the advice-giver occurs in turn 13 in the M&A conversation, twelve turns after the utterance which prefigured this action.

### M&A

13 M: Yeh (maybe). [Re]cord. But- (they) also- (.) (That) ↑al↓so (means) you have to=

14 A: [(oh)]

M: =go to class:.

((pause))

Because if you’re a ↑audio lear↑ner, then go:ing to class would help you ↓lea:rn.

((laughs))=

15 A: =Ye:h (I know). (.) °I went tah class ↑Mon(h)day: ((laugh)), and I’m goin to class tomorrow.°

((pause))

16 M: O ↑kay, (.) >well you have to go all the t(h)ime.< ((laugh))

17 A: (Yeh) ((pause)) (noise in background)

M's turn 13 accomplishes the action she pre-figured in turn 1. She suggests a course of action A should take to solve the constructed problem. It is important to note that just as A resisted construction of the problem, she resists the advice-giving. She does this in turn 15 by, again, first claiming existing knowledge of the solution and, then, supporting that by citing her attendance at class on “↑Mon(h)day:” and her planned attendance “tomorrow.”. In the face of this resistance, M reissues the advice in turn 16 by stating, “O↑kay, (.) >well you have to go all the t(h)ime.< ((laughs))”. This turn is an extension of the initial advice in turn 13. M's laughter at the end of turns 13 and 16 “softens” the advice. Jefferson (1979) argues that shared laughter is highly valued (when not in a troubles' telling episode) and that laughter at the end of a turn can work to solicit laughter from the hearer. The laughter at the end of M's turn appears to work this way and, importantly, A does not laugh in turn 17 but, instead, speaks to the utterance itself, which constitutes a declination to laugh (Jefferson, 1979). This is further resistance by A in that she does not align with M's conversational course of action. It is clear, then, that this advice episode is problematic for both interactants and this likely accounts for M's second advice-giving about the “↓grade” problem.

The second issuing of advice accomplished by M occurs fifteen turns later and after an overt change in topic.

### **M&A**

26 M: [Ooh, and then I had this]

27 L: [HEY (.) AL] Eric called and left a message on the machine.

(.)

28 A: Whadid he want.

29 L: \*I donknow, a ma:kin' a protein shake and I got some studyin' tah do:\* >He- he said call in ↑like the chapter room.<

(.)

30 A: Mmkay=

- 31 M: =And then. I had this other id<sup>↑</sup>ea (.) that we: could go tuh the library together, (.)  
 once a <sup>↑</sup>week. In <sup>↑</sup>whichcase we would be studying, even if we don't have  
 something tah study for. (.) So: like <sup>↓</sup>say, >you don't have something tah study  
<sup>↑</sup>for<=  
 32 A: Uhhuh  
 33 M: =>then you still have tuh study.<=

The actual giving of advice begins in turn 26, however, this turn is overlapped by A's roommate (who walks into the room) and, so, M is unable to finish her utterance. In turn 31, M rebuilds the turn she began in 26. Note that the first turn constructional unit (TCU) in turn 31 is nearly identical to the one begun in turn 26. M offers additional advice here and explains or justifies it. Notice that near the end of the turn, following the giving of advice, there is a pause which gets no uptake from A. M continues to elaborate and then explain further the suggested course of action. She begins with the upshot "So:," which denotes that the gist of what she is saying is about to come. An upshot as part of an informing/reporting is very common (Drew, 1984) and it makes sense here as M has twice provided A an opportunity for uptake, neither of which received uptake. Thus, M begins to explain how the suggested course of action would be helpful. A's acknowledgement token in turn 32 is placed at a point where M is clearly not finished with her explanation. Because of this, A's action can be seen to mark A's understanding of M's explanation. M, however, completes her explanation in turn 33 and continues providing further support for the advice in remaining turns of the conversation.

Recall that in the B & Family conversation, the potential advice-recipient has also resisted the construction of the problem, and that B and Mom have each ordered Me to take her contacts out.

### **B & Family**

99 Me: I WILL (.) TAKE 'EM [OUT WHEN I GO TO BE:D!]



- 100 Mo: [( )] But you shou-, you  
should take 'em out when you get ho:me. (.) You get home at six, seven,  
eight, nine. You should [take em ou:t.]
- 101 B: [But since] she doesn't slee:p it's, kinda  
convenient that he(h)r co(h)nta(h)cts never come ou:t.  
((pause))
- 102 ?: HH=
- 103 Mo: =You shouldn't sit here till three in the morning since you've had em in  
all day.  
(.)
- 104 B: C'mon. Whaddaya thinking [about]
- 105 Mo: [You] don''t seem to understand that

In turn 99, Me states, authoritatively, "I WILL (.) TAKE 'EM [OUT WHEN I GO TO BE:D!]". Here there is an obvious rejection of the previously given orders to "Take 'em out, now.=" in turns 92 and 96. Significantly, a "problem" was never acknowledged by Me, which accounts for her rejection of these orders. If no problem exists, there is no need to make a change. Advice is given to Me in turn 100. After getting a clear rejection of the orders (turns 92 and 96), advice can be seen to be a way of "softening" conversational actions in that it makes a suggestion of what to do, rather than directly ordering Me to take a particular course of action.

*Receipt of advice.* A's receipt of her sister's advice to "go to class:." can be seen as a clearly unenthusiastic "acceptance."

### M&A

- 13 M: Yeh (maybe). [Re]cord. But- (they) also- (.) (That) ↑al↓so (means) you have to=  
14 A: [(oh)]  
M: =go to class:.  
((pause))  
Because if you're a ↑audio lear↑ner, then go:ing to class would help you ↓lea:m.  
((laughs))=
- 15 A: =Ye:h (I know). (.) °I went tah class ↑Mon(h)day: ((laugh)), and I'm goin to class  
tomorrow.°  
((pause))
- 16 M: O ↑kay, (.) >well you have to go all the t(h)ime.< ((laugh))

17 A: (Yeh) ((pause)) (noise in background)

Following the issuing of the advice in turn 13, A first agrees in turn 15, then, claims existing knowledge of the suggested course of action, and in the second turn constructional unit, she supports the claim of existing knowledge by citing her past and future class attendance. These moves by A work to resist the advice. If she is knowledgeable about the suggested course of action, has implemented it, and plans to continue to do so, then the advice offered by M is unnecessary. A is already managing the problem and, therefore, does not need advice about it. A's turn 15 undermines the relevance of all M's prior turns because considerable interactional work has been done to construct the problem and then the advice she offers to resolve it is challenged. Addressing this issue, M extends the advice in turn 16, by stating, ">well you have to go all the t(h)ime.<". This issuing of advice is also reluctantly accepted by A in turn 17. This reluctance is achieved by A's lack of uptake in the first and second pauses in turn 13. A, finally, makes a minimally accepting comment with "(Yeh)". This reluctant acceptance of the advice is consistent with the resistance provided by A throughout the conversation.

Recall that M's second issuing of advice in this conversation occurred in turn 31.

### M&A

31 M: =And then. I had this other id↑ea (.) that we: could go tuh the library together, (.) once a ↑week. In ↑whichcase we would be studying, even if we don't have something tah study for. (.) So: like ↓say, >you don't have something tah study ↑for <=

32 A: =Uhhuh=

33 M: =>Then you still have tuh study.<=

34 A: Whe:n do you wan tah do ↑tha:t.

35 M: >I donknow.< (.) I was gonna ask you when you wanned tah do it.=

36 A: =Oh:  
((pause))

37 M: Like, it could be like different every ↑we:ek.=

38 A: =Uh, huh

- ((pause))
- 39 M: (But.) (.) >Do you see what I'm saying. Like< you don't always need a reason to study (.) that class. (.) Because you're obviously having ↑problems with it. An so is everyone else in the class. (.) Ya know?=  
 40 A: =Yeh=  
 41 M: =So: everyone else is doing something wrong to(h)o:. (.) When they're: (.) doing that. ((pause)) >I donknow.< I was j- this is what I think about. (.) ((laugh)) W(h)en I sit around.  
 (.)  
 42 A: ↓O:ka:y:.  
 ((pause))

M's second issuing of advice, in turn 31, is done as a report of an "id↑ea" she had which, importantly, involves a course of conduct for both sisters. This turn is completed in turn 33 and the shift from "we" to "you", which begins with the last TCU of turn 31, combined with the clearly prescriptive character of turn 33 ("=>then you still have tuh study.<="), reconstitutes the report such that advice is, again, accomplished. A's turn 34 does not address the advice itself, but, rather, questions M about the logistics of the course of action. Consequently, A's "stance" in this segment is consistent with her prior lack of acknowledgement of a problem, and, so, her undermining of the relevance of the advice. In turns 34 through 38, the sisters address the specifics of M's plan and, then, in turn 39, M provides support for the suggested course of action and questions A's understanding of the advice. M delivers a bald-on-record reconstruction of the problem by stating "you're obviously having ↑problems with it." This is all necessary because A still has not overtly acknowledge that a problem exists. In response to M's reconstruction of the problem, in turn 39, A provides acknowledgement of clarity in turn 40 (in response to M's "Ya know?") and, then, when M offers a first pair part assessment followed by an informing in turn 41, A responds in turn 42 with a hesitant, "↓O:ka:y:". The multiple pauses in turn 41 demonstrate the problematic nature of this interaction. M has initiated

construction of a problem which A consistently resists. Hence, this advice episode ends with what appears to be “acceptance” of the advice-giving, however, that acceptance is clearly reluctant.

Finally, in the B & Family conversation, Me never receipts the re-issuing of advice given by Mo and supported by B.

### **B & Family**

- 99 Me: I WILL (.) TAKE ‘EM [OUT WHEN I GO TO BE:D!]  
 100 Mo: [( )] But you shou-, you  
 should take ‘em out when you get ho:me. (.) You get home at six, seven,  
 eight, nine. You should [take em ou:t.]  
 101 B: [But since] she doesn’t slee:p its, kinda convenient  
 that he(h)r co(h)nta(h)cts never come ou:t.  
 ((pause))  
 102 ?: HH=  
 103 Mo: =You shouldn’t sit here till three in the morning since you’ve had em in  
 all ↓day.  
 (.)  
 104 B: C’mom. Whaddaya thinking [about]  
 105 Mo: [You] don’t seem to understand that

Mom’s reissuing of advice, in turn 100, is overlapped by B and since speaker identification cannot be determined for turn 102, it is unclear whether Me responds to Mom or B with the “HH=”. Turn 105 is used to support the advice, however, despite the pause following this turn, Me does not provide uptake. After turn 105, topic is changed by actions of the other sister, D, who is also in the room. Hence, this episode ends with no clear receipt of the re-issued advice.

### *Discussion*

This investigation of siblings’ construction of advice episodes demonstrates that advice episodes consist of three dependent sequences, construction of a problem, issuing of advice, and receipt of advice, and that these activities are co-constructed by the

potential advice-giver and the potential advice-recipient. Moreover, problem construction can be a particularly problematic activity, especially when the potential advice-giver initiates it. This was seen in the M&A and the B & Family conversations. In these conversations, the potential advice-recipients resisted problem construction and, so, additional interactional work was devoted to accomplishing it.

As previously noted, the relevance of advice is dependent upon the construction of a problem and, so, the issuing of advice was affected by whether the potential advice-giver or recipient initiated problem construction, and whether problem construction was met with resistance. The advice can also be formulated in multiple ways: 1) as a question, 2) as a statement or, 3) as part of a story. Hence, both the sequential location and the composition of the advice-issuing turn has implications for its receipt by the potential advice-recipient. Even when the potential advice-recipient initiated construction of the problem, advice was not always accepted. When C offers advice in the R&C conversation, she is met with claims of existing knowledge and, so, competence, by R. These “I know” claims undermine the relevance of the proffered advice. If someone already knows how to solve a problem, then there is no reason to provide them a course of action to follow. In situations where the potential advice-giver initiated construction of the problem, the issuing of the advice was more problematic and these sisters often faced further resistance from the potential advice-recipient. Also, “softening” of the advice was utilized in the M&A conversation and in the B & Family conversation.

Finally, there was only one overt acceptance of advice in these conversations. This occurred in the M&A conversation when A, eventually, gives a reluctant acceptance of M’s advice. In the L&K and R&C conversations, advice was neither directly accepted

nor directly denied. K and R attend to the “advice-like” statements and questions offered by their sisters but avoid overtly denying or accepting the suggestions. Hence, in most of these conversations, advice was not directly accepted but, rather, potential advice-receivers continued to use resources such as claims of existing knowledge (“I know”) or accounts for their actions in order to resist the advice.

### Relational Identities

As previously noted, face and relational concerns are made relevant by the issuing of advice. Goldsmith (1999) and Goldsmith and Fitch (1997) explain that giving advice raises face threats in three ways: 1) it implies that the giver knows how to solve the hearer’s problem, 2) it questions the freedom of the hearer to be able to reject the advice (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1999), and 3) it questions whether the hearer is knowledgeable and capable enough to choose a beneficial course of action (e.g. Wilson, Aleman, & Leatham, 1998). Hence, siblings’ construction of advice episodes necessarily entails the negotiation of relational identities and this section of the chapter explores these sisters’ use of the advice episodes they constructed to negotiate their sibling bond.

#### *R&C Relational Identities*

Recall that R&C are sisters who are sitting in front of the television (at home) having a conversation. R is the older sister (age 26) who is away at college finishing her final semester after a 3-year hiatus. C (age 22), the younger sister, has just graduated from the same college and is living at home. As examination of their conversation demonstrated, C, the younger sister, consistently claims authority in this conversation.

**R&C**

- 4 R: =I: ↓know. ((pause)) But- (.) an I'm like (.) so ah: when are you all comin' ta visit. (.) And she's like why:. (.) I said cuz I'm really sick an tired: of eatin' generic ass groceries. I said you have no idea how bad generic ↑soup tastes.
- 5 C: Robin they never came ta visit me.
- 6 R: And she's like (.) so that's all there is an you need me ta visit. I said uh huh.
- 7 C: So why don you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])
- 8 R: [I] dont ↑kno:w.=
- 9 C: =Or why don you jus suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.

Turns 4 and 6, are a story R is telling about asking her mother when she will be coming to see her at college. These turns are an extension of the story that began in turn 1. In turn 4, R is informing C about what was said between her and her mother. She reports a problem that her mother is not coming to see her, and that she wants her to come so she does not have to continue eating generic food. While C could provide support for R's concerns, instead, in turn 5, C responds with her own complaint about her parents. This shifts the topic and the lack of even minimal acknowledgment of R's story, e.g. "Uh huh", makes this a rather disjunctive topic change (and, so, a face-threatening action). It is important to note that C's complaint is more serious than R's was. C uses the word "never", which draws a distinction between R's complaint about her mother not coming to visit this one time and their parents' consistent absence when C was at school. C's topic shift in turn 5 does not show any positive interest in the point of R's story. R has a point in telling this story, but C picks up on the "background information" rather than the main point of the story (to tell about the interaction she had with her mother). Goodwin (1984) states that "recipients to the story are faced with the job not simply of listening to the events being recounted but rather of distinguishing different subcomponents of the talk in terms of the alternative possibilities for action they invoke" (p. 243). He tells us,

then, that the telling of a story is organized by the actions of the speaker, and the recipients are expected to recognize the point of the story and respond to that. Here, C does not do that.

C's utterance in turn 5 does not align with R's conversational actions, and it introduces some face concerns.

### R&C

- 5 C: Robin they never came ta visit me.  
 6 R: And she's like (.) so that's all there is an you need me ta visit. I said uh huh.  
 7 C: So why don you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])  
 8 R: [I] dont ↑kno:w.=  
 9 C: =Or why don you jus suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.  
 10 R: Wull I did, I wen to both places after I found out how shitty the food there was.  
 ↑Some of the things are ↑okay but some of the things are really ↓gross. ((pause))  
 °Ya kno:w° like the three gallon jugs of water for less than two dollars. [That]'s sweet.  
 11 C: [Right]

C's utterance is a FTA to negative face because she is interfering with R's instrumental goal of telling a story (Brown and Levinson, 1987). This shift is also an FTA to positive face because C is not valuing R's attempt to tell a story and relay information. Hence, C disaffiliates and, so, it is "unsupportive" of R by not responding with any kind of appreciation (Goodwin, 1984) for her story. She does, however, accomplish her own informing about the sisters' parents never going to see her (C) while she was in college. Staske's (2002) research on conflict interaction demonstrates that affiliative actions are those which align with an interactant's prior actions and talk. In contrast, disaffiliation occurs when a participant goes against a conversational partner's actions and talk. In turn 6, R ignores the act of disaffiliation in turn 5 by continuing with her story and, so, ignores C's complaint and her disaffiliation. In response, in turn 7, C gives advice that minimizes



R's complaints. She offers a solution that is constructed to appear rather simple. This is demonstrated by C's use of "just," which claims a very simple solution to the problem. R just received advice, about getting groceries at home and, in turn 8, R claims insufficient knowledge ("[I] don't ↑kno:w.=") and, so, avoids taking a position on the solution (Beach & Metzger, 1997). C's turn 7 gives advice, but at the same time asks for an account, and R does not address this. Beach and Metzger (1997) explain that this action by R successfully delays further consideration of the topics at hand.

A similarly constructed advice episode is created by C in turn 9 which also minimizes R's complaints about her mom by not addressing the actual complaint, but, rather, elaborating (note the "Or" which begins this turn) the advice she offered in turn 7, i.e., she offers an alternative solution to the food problem. In turn 10, R asserts that the course of action offered by C has already been accomplished, i.e., R already did go to Walmart. If R has already been to Walmart, then C's advice, in turn 9, is not helpful. Therefore, R is claiming authority, competence, and control over the problem. R's turn 10, then, works to challenge the authority that C has claimed.

Advice by a younger sister to an older one is particularly problematic with regard to face concerns because research shows that female second born siblings (of late adolescent age) are more likely to both receive more advice and be more satisfied with advice from older siblings (Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 1997). First born/older siblings in the study reported receiving less advice and being less satisfied with advice from younger siblings. Therefore, C's giving of advice to her older sibling is relationally problematic and is marked interactionally by these sisters. The topic shift followed by repeated issuings of advice constitute one FTA placed on top of another. And it is important to

note that R does not continue with her story following the first issuing of advice in turn 7. According to Fishman (1983), controlling topic in this way is a way to gain power in a conversation. This interactive sequence displays an asymmetric twist when C does not follow along with the story line (Rogers & Farace, 1975). R allows C to do this by affiliating in turn 8 and, so, defers, in part, to her younger sister's control. This is a great example of the negotiation of control through both "topic control" and the issuing of advice. Because advice-givers inherently claim greater knowledge and expertise than their recipients, C's issuing of advice here can be seen to support her negotiation of relational control with her "big" sister. It is important to note that R does not fully align with this. By ignoring C's disjunctive topic shift in turn 7 and responding in the way she does to C's advice in turns 8 and 10, R undermines C's claim of authority. Thus, the actions of both R and C contribute to the construction of their relational identities. These resources of ignoring and stalling a topic shift are used by R to challenge C's identity as an authority, and, consequently, support R's identity claims of competency and knowledge.

#### *M&A Relational Identities*

The conversation between M&A, twenty year old twin sisters, nicely illustrates the management of face concerns and the negotiation of authority. Recall that the sisters are alone in the chapter room (meeting room) of their sorority house and M begins this segment of the conversation by pre-figuring the issuing of advice. She states, "•(S(h)o d(h)o you want to hear• about the- the ↓grade idea I had for you-". As previously noted, "pre" or presequence is an utterance which is treated by participants as a preliminary to or foreshadowing of an upcoming conversational action by the speaker, in this case,

advice about a “↓grade” problem. Presequences work to solicit involvement of the hearer in the action that the speaker will later perform and this first turn nicely accomplishes that. It is built as not mutually known to both of the interactants. If the recipient already knows the “↓grade idea”, there is no need to question her about it and, so, no need for the upcoming advice. The question format and the inexplicit prefiguring “soften” the claim of authority that advice-giving necessarily entails.

M “downplays” the claim to authority with the use of a “smile-voice” and laugh tokens in the beginning of the turn. Instead of saying something like “I’ve been thinking about this problem you’ve been having in your human physiology class and came up with a way to fix it,” she asks A “•(S(h)o d(h)o you want to hear• about the- the ↓grade I had for you-“. This allows A many options. She could respond in any number of ways to M’s question. For example, she could say, “No, I don’t want to hear about your idea,” “Okay, that sounds great, or “Maybe later.” Pomerantz (1984) explains that “delicate” topics are sometimes talked about with terms and glosses that refer to the topic without naming or identifying it” (p. 155). Hence, turn 1 is constructed as a delicate. The “↓grade idea” is a gloss because it does not specify the idea nor the grade problem.

The delicacy of this issuing of advice can be explained by research on sibling advice episodes that demonstrates that older sisters are more likely to give advice to younger sisters and that when the advice is given in this way it is more satisfying than when younger sisters advise older ones (Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 1997). The problem in this interaction is that M and A are twin sisters and, so, each can claim equal status; neither is truly the older sister. As previously noted, according to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of “facework,” advice-giving is threatening to both a recipient’s positive

and negative face. The weightiness of an FTA depends, in part, upon the power of the hearer over the speaker. Since twins are relative equals, giving advice is more face threatening than if M were an older sister and this makes claiming authority a more difficult interactional task. M responds to this difficulty by “downplaying” her claim to authority about A’s “↓grade” problem.

M’s minimization of “you-“, with the abrupt cut-off at the end of the turn, in turn 1, provides explanation for A addressing the issue of reciprocity by asking the question “Oh, for me:?”. Recall that the sisters are the only ones in the room and, so, any question would clearly be directed to the other.

#### **M&A**

1 M: •(S(h)o d(h)o you want to hear• about the- the ↓grade idea I had for you-

2 A: Oh for me:?=

3 M: =Yeh-.

4 A: Oh is it actually for me?=-

Turn 2 is, then, a legitimate question by A because of the previously mentioned ambiguity of M’s first turn, i.e., the cut-off on “you-“. However, A asks the question again, in turn 4, after receiving confirmation in turn 3. It is important to note that turns 2 and 4 are successful in delaying the issuing of advice by M. Turn 4 is a more overt delaying move by A since M has already made it clear that the potential advice-recipient is A.

Finally, in turn 6, A aligns with M’s conversational actions by saying “Oh:. Okay.”.

#### **M&A**

5 M: =Yeh-.

6 A: Oh:. Okay.=

7 M: =It’s so you can get (.) a better grade in Human (.) •Phys:iology•(hh).=

8 A: =↓O:↑kay.

Turn 7 could, then, be an appropriate place for M to issue the advice she prefigured in turn 1 (she received the “go ahead” from A in turn 6). It is important to note, then, that M does not issue the advice here. Instead, she unglosses “the ↓grade idea” with which she began the episode. The word “•Phys:iology•(hh)” is also marked with a “smile-voice” and some emphasis and sound extension. Thus, M “plays with” the word and this, again, works to downplay the authority claim she is making. After receiving another “go ahead” in turn 8, M again delays issuing advice by, instead, offering further background information in turn 9.

#### M&A

- 9 M: (( )) Okay- (.) So (.) you know how you took that test with) Shi:zuchard?  
(.)
- 10 A: Yes:.=
- 11 M: =And it said you were an ↑audio learner?  
((pause)) [( )]
- 12 A: [W]ell it said I was an ↑audio learner but then it said I was the ↑other one: = More so than the ↑audio learner. Whadaya want me to record cla:ss?  
(.)

Turn 9 is in question form and, so, again M solicits A’s involvement in the upcoming action of issuing advice. A answers M’s question in the affirmative in turn 10 which marks that she is following M. Then, once again, in turn 11, M asks another background question which further delays the giving of advice. A’s turn 12 is important. “[W]ell it said I was an ↑audio learner but then it said I was the ↑other one: = More so than the ↑audio learner. Whadaya want me to record cla:ss?” initiates repair on M’s turn 11 by explaining that she “was the ↑other one: = **More so than the** ↑audio learner.”

What is really intriguing about A's utterances in turn 12 is that she ends up offering a "guess" about the advice M has pre-figured. This works so that A accomplishes her own advice-giving and, in so doing, A claims authority over the issue. This also undermines the relevance of M's pre-figured action. A's utterance in turn 12, therefore, challenges M's authority and, again, works to delay (or block altogether) the issuing of advice. While this action is not successful in terminating the advice episode, it does, again, delay the advice-giving.

In turn 13, M, finally, issues the advice.

#### M&A

13 M: Yeh (maybe). [Re]cord. But- (they) also- (.) (That) ↑al↓so (means) you have to=

14 A: [(oh)]

M: =go to class:.

((pause))

Because if you're a ↑audio lear↑ner, then go:ing to class would help you ↓lea:m.

((laughs))=

15 A: =Ye:h (I know). (.) °I went tah class ↑Mon(h)day: ((laugh)), and I'm goin to class tomorrow.°

((pause))

16 M: O↑kay, (.) >well you have to go all the t(h)ime.< ((laugh))

17 A: (Yeh) ((pause)) (noise in background)

This turn is full of quick endings, pauses, and repair (especially at the beginning) which mark its problematic nature. Recall that M has worked to "soften" the authority claim she is making and to address the FTAs that advice-giving inherently raise. Turns 7, 9, 11, and 13 are consistent with earlier turns. The pauses, repair, and laughter at the end mark M's utterances as problematic and, so, work to treat the situation as a "delicate." As previously noted, laughter at the end of a turn can solicit laughter from the recipient and, so, M's terminal laughter, again, invites A to join in the issuing of advice. A does not, however, laugh in turns 15 and 17 but, instead, speaks to the utterance itself, which

constitutes a declination to laugh (Jefferson, 1979). Once again, A fails to align with M's conversational actions.

As explained in the prior portion of this Findings chapter, A receipts the advice issued in turn 13 with a minimal agreement followed by a claim of existing knowledge, "(I know)". Her claim of "(I know)" supports the "defense" she offers to support her management of the "problem." The word "↑Mon(h)day:", contains a laugh token and this is followed by laughter. This comments on the defense A is giving and marks it as a candidate laughable (Jefferson, 1979). However, just as A declined to laugh in turn 15 in response to M's laughter, M declines to laugh here which makes the apparent alignment accomplished with "O↑kay," a partial one. In the second turn constructional unit of this turn, M goes on to offer an extension of the advice she has offered to A and this turn, too, is completed with a laugh. A, again, declines to laugh in turn 17 and, again, offers minimal acceptance of the advice with "(Yeh)".

At this point, then, in the M&A conversation, both sisters have paid considerable interactional attention to addressing the face and relational concerns raised by the issuing of advice. M and A negotiate authority throughout the problem construction and the advice episode. As M constructs the problem and pre-figures advice giving, A resists the problem construction. Recall that M claims authority simply by being the potential advice-giver (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997), and, so, by prefiguring the action in turn 1, these claims are open for negotiation. A's resists both problem construction and the advice-giving by providing minimal uptake, delaying the advice, declining to laugh, and by "guessing" what M's advice will be before M issues it. M addresses face concerns by treating the interaction as a "delicate" one, "downplaying" the claim of authority, and

soliciting A's involvement in the advice episode. For the remainder of the conversation, M and A continue to use these resources in negotiating their relational identities.

Turns 18-25 complete the first advice segment and they are important to this analysis.

#### **M&A**

- 18 S: ((gestures))  
 19 M: ↑Snookie, whada you doin'?  
 ((pause))  
 20 S: °Mommy hates you.°  
 21 A: ((lau[gh]))  
 22 M: [Mommy] hates me?  
 23 S: °Yes.°  
 24 M: Why:?  
 25 S: °Cuz°

A's stuffed animal, "Snookie", becomes a ratified participant (Goffman, 1967) in this interaction when M selects him as next speaker in turn 19. Here, M asks a question and instead of providing an answer, Snookie reports his "Mommy's" current emotional state. A is Snookie's "Mommy" and, so, this is a bald-on-record FTA to M's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, it is minimized because Snookie says it instead of A. A laughs in turn 21 and, importantly, M does not laugh with A in turn 22 but, rather, overlaps A's laughter and initiates repair on Snookie's statement by asking a clarification question. Snookie answers M's question in turn 23 by affirming a correct hearing of turn 20. Then when M asks Snookie "Why:?" in turn 24, Snookie gives a minimal reply and does not elaborate on his report. Snookie's turns 20, 23, and 25 are done quietly, which does "soften" the FTA a bit.

Hence, Snookie also addresses the face and relational concerns raised in this conversation by reporting A's negative emotional response to M's issuing of advice. Note



that Snookie enters the conversation directly following A's minimal "acceptance" of M's advice. A changes "footing" (Goffman, 1981) in the conversation, then, by taking on the voice of Snookie and, so, becoming Snookie's animator. Having Snookie articulate her feelings allows A to report them and the FTA they carry, i.e., Snookie gets to say things to M that A might not say. Thus, Snookie addresses these sisters' current interactional behavior and, so, contributes significantly to his "Mommy's and Aunt's" relational bond. (Interestingly, M also has a stuffed animal, J.R., and these very close twin sisters routinely employ them both in their conversations.)

After Snookie and M talk in turns 18-25, M changes topic in turn 26.

#### M&A

- 26 M: [Ooh, and then I had this]  
 27 L: [HEY (.) AL] Eric called and left a message on the machine.  
 (.)  
 28 A: Whadid he want.  
 29 L: \*I donknow, a ma:kin' a protein shake and I got some studyin' tah do:\* >He- he said call in ↑like the chapter room.<  
 (.)  
 30 A: Mmkay=  
 31 M: =And then. I had this other id↑ea (.) that we: could go tuh the library together, (.) once a ↑week. In ↑whichcase we would be studying, even if we don't have something tah study for. (.) So: like ↓say, >you don't have something tah study ↑for <=  
 32 A: =Uhhuh=  
 33 M: =>Then you still have tuh study.<=  
 34 A: Whe:n do you wan tah do ↑tha:t.  
 35 M: >I donknow.< (.) I was gonna ask you when you wanned tah do it.=  
 36 A: =Oh:  
 ((pause))  
 37 M: Like, it could be like different every ↑we:ek.=  
 38 A: =Uh, huh  
 ((pause))  
 39 M: (But.) (.) >Do you see what I'm saying. Like< you don't always need a reason to study (.) that class. (.) Because you're obviously having ↑problems with it. An so is everyone else in the class. (.) Ya know?=  
 40 A: =Yeh=

- 41 M: =So: everyone else is doing something wrong to(h)o:. (.) When they're: (.) doing that. ((pause)) >I donknow.< I was j- this is what I think about. (.) ((laugh))  
W(h)en I sit around.  
(.)
- 42 A: ↓O:ka:y:.  
((pause))

As explained in the Advice Episodes Findings section, the content of turn 31 again topicalizes the problem with A's Human Physiology grade. M's informing, "=And then. I had this other id↑ea (.)" is delivered with emphasis on "then" and "other" and with a change of pitch in "id↑ea". Therefore, M projects an important idea about the problem and, so, again, pre-figures upcoming advice.

M formats this advice segment as a narrative, a temporally organized story about an idea she had (Ochs, 1997). By formatting her utterance this way, M delays the advice-giving which is what she did with the first advice segment. Then M explains that "...we would be studying, even if we don't have something tah study for." Notice M's use of the word "we", which includes herself in the solution to the problem. This TCU ends with a pause where A could respond, however, no uptake is provided by A. This lack of uptake by A is interesting because narratives are co-constructed by participants and this often means that participants ask questions, comment, and contribute to the telling of the story (Goodwin, 1984). Hence, lack of uptake here is consistent with the resistance she offered in the first advice segment.

Lacking uptake by A, M continues by explaining the proffered solution. M basically restates the previous point in the turn, but the "like ↓say" puts this in a hypothetical form. A does provide an acknowledgement token in turn 32 and, in turn 33, M finishes the utterance she began in 31. M's additional explanation of the advice

addresses the resistance A has consistently provided. If M was receiving more immediate uptake and alignment from A, then additional (unsolicited) explanations would not be necessary. Finally, in turn 34, A issues what is her third substantive turn in this segment. She asks a first pair part question by stating “Whe:n do you wan tah do ↑tha:t.” In turn 35, M responds to A’s question with “>I donknow.<”. This is a second pair part answer to A’s question but it also is a claim by M that she has insufficient knowledge (Beach & Metzger, 1997) about the logistics of the **plan**. By claiming this insufficient knowledge, then, M downplays her claim to authority and, then, states, “I was gonna ask you when you wannah tah do it.”. M uses the word “you” twice in this turn, and puts emphasis on one of these. These two turns, 34 and 35, are a demonstration of A and M negotiating control. M defers to A about implementing the advice she offered by designating A as the decision-maker on these issues.

A’s response in turn 36, “=Oh:.” is a change-of-state token which marks a change in the speaker’s state of knowledge (Heritage, 1984). A significant pause occurs after A’s “=Oh:.”. This is A’s chance to make the decision about when to go to the library, but she does not. M terminates the pause by offering a possible plan in turn 37. This suggestion is “softened” by prefacing the suggestion with “Like,”. A, again, provides a minimal response in the form of an acknowledgement token in turn 38 and M, again, explains the advice in turn 39.

This second advice segment of the **M&A conversation** is consistent with the first. M continues to “soften” the authority claim **she is making** and to address the FTAs that advice-giving raises. This is accomplished by **delaying the issuing** of advice, treating the advice episode as a “delicate,” and **soliciting the involvement** of A in the problem

construction and advice-giving. A also continues to pay close attention to the face and relational concerns raised by the advice episode by resisting the problem construction and the advice-giving. She accomplishes this by providing minimal uptake, delaying the advice, declining to laugh, and by issuing FTAs to her sister. This resistance allows A to challenge M's claim of authority and, so, enhance her own authority claim.

### *B & Family Relational Identities*

The advice episode in the B & Family conversation also contributes to the sisters' construction of relational identities. Recall that B, the oldest sister, and Mo, the mother, give advice to Me, the fifteen-year-old daughter and sister. Authority is negotiated when B and Mom construct the problem and issue the advice and Me resists both.

In the first segment of the B & Family conversation, B gives advice to her younger sister, Me.

### **B & Family**

- 1 Me: I'm like (.) ↓co:ld but I'm no:t.=  
 2 B: =Maybe you sh↑ould put ↑on something ↑warmer.  
 3 Me: ↑I kn↑ow.=

Recall that Me informs B about an assessment dilemma in turn 1 and B's response is the giving of advice in turn 2. This assessment dilemma was constructed by Me when she offered two contradictory statements, "I'm like (.) ↓co:ld but I'm no:t.=". The claim of authority made by B in giving advice is "softened" by beginning her turn with "=Maybe". Using the term "=Maybe" acknowledges alternatives and, so, B addresses face concerns in this way. In turn 3, Me's "↑I kn↑ow.=" claims pre-existing knowledge of the course of action B has suggested. Hence, B's prior utterance is not "news." Me's utterance, then, challenges B's authority and the relevance of her advice.

B's first pair part question in turn 4 works to support turn 2 and, so, challenge turn 3, by requesting an account for not enacting the course of conduct Me has just claimed to already know.

### B & Family

- 4 B: =How can you wear short sleeves in this cold weather.  
 5 ( ): ( )  
 6 Me: °It's pretty easy actually. (Because, I don't like how I look in long sleeve shirts)°  
 7 B: You don't like how you look in a long sleeve shirt.

B asserts authority by holding Me accountable for her actions. The question is also interesting because it provides information that can work to challenge the account just requested. Since wearing short sleeves in cold weather is identified by B as the problem. Me's complaint and her actions are incompatible. Me's answer to B's requested account, "°It's pretty easy actually. (Because, I don't like how I look in long sleeve shirts)°", treats the prior utterance as a genuine question rather than a request for an account. It is delivered in dispreferred form by reference to the account which follows the answer. In turn 7, B challenges Me's explanation. The stress B places on the word "look" suggests that how Me looks in long sleeve shirts does not explain keeping herself warm.

The second advice sequence in the interaction occurs in the second segment of the B & Family conversation. The turns before 100 are a presequence of advice.

### B & Family

- 85 Mo: [Uh] (.) [( ) ha]ve (her) contacts in.  
 86 B: [↑ME:GAN (.) ↑BA:CH!]  
 87 ?: [( )]  
 88 Me: [↑Wha:t?]  
 89 Mo: [Brandy] sh↑ouldn't she have those out (.) by now?=  
 90 B: =>Don't your< ↑eye↓balls (.) hurt you.  
 91 Me: No.=  
 92 B: =They should. Take em out.=

Recall that these turns build up to the advice by creating support for it and that the first clear construction of the problem occurs in turn 85. Here, Mo constructs the problem by complaining that Me still has “(her)” contacts in. In turn 86, B communicates overt disapproval of Me’s action (still wearing her contacts at a late hour). She accomplishes this by heavily marking her utterance with sound extensions and emphasis, and by upgrading volume. B can be seen to be “scolding.” While B is not Me’s mother, she does claim authority by “scolding” Me. This is the first time that B supports Mo’s utterances, thus co-constructing the problem by working with Mom to make this an issue. These turns preface the upcoming advice by creating support for it. Then in turn 88, Me asks the first pair part question, “[Wha:t.], thus, initiating repair on B’s turn in 86. Using the question “[Wha:t] seeks explanation for B’s disapproval. Therefore, Me resists the construction of the problem by Mo and B and, so, this works to challenge their claims of authority.

Facing resistance from Me, Mo, and B continue with their construction of the problem.

### **B & Family**

- 89 Mo: [Brandy] sh↑ouldn’t she have those out (.) by now?=  
 90 B: =>Don’t your< ↑eye↓balls (.) hurt you.  
 91 Me: No.=

Remember that Mo actively seeks B’s co-construction of the problem and, so, the upcoming advice, by selecting B as next speaker with a first pair part question. This “gives face” (supports/acknowledges and builds her identity, Goffman, 1967) to B. “[Brandy] sh↑ouldn’t she have those our (.) by now?=” requests B’s opinion on the

matter and provides an opportunity for B to claim authority. Also, B is being supported by a traditional authority figure, **Mom**, hence, enhancing B's authority claim. Mom and big sister "team up" here in **constructing the problem** and giving advice to Me. B's turn 90 does not offer a second pair part answer but still aligns by supporting Mo. Instead, she asks a first pair part question to Me. **Recall that Me** gives a preferred second pair part answer in turn 91 by saying, "No.=". **This is further resistance** of the problem. If Me's eyes do not hurt, then no problem exists.

When Me tells B that her **eyeballs do not hurt** her in turn 91, B responds by saying "They should.". This turn reinforces the **existence** of the problem that Mo and B are constructing. Then B gives advice when she orders her sister to "Take 'em out.=". It is interesting that Mom, the one who can **legitimately claim** higher status in this conversation, is not the first to give an **order and, so, advice**, to Me. Mo's "face giving" supports this action by B because the **person who has a legitimately higher status** is demonstrating support of B's utterances. **By ordering her little sister**, B makes a bold claim of authority. To give an order, one **must first have** authority. This type of face-threatening action is delivered bald-on-record (**Brown & Levinson, 1987**) by B, and is accomplished in the face of consistent **resistance by Me**. B does not have Me's acknowledgement of a problem, so, Me **precludes the relevance** of the order.

### **B & Family**

- 92 B: =They should. Take em out.=
- 93 ?: =[(laughs)]
- 94 Mo: =[She sle]eps in 'em all the time. **Which is-** you're gonna end up hurting your eyes in the future.=
- 95 B: =[Yeah]
- 96 Mo: [(Take em)] out now.=
- 97 B: =You don't wanna ruin yer **eyeballs**, [so that you hafta wear glasses] all=
- 98 Mo: [(your eyes have no)]

Mo informs B, in turn 94, that “She” (Me) “sle]eps in ‘em all the time.” So, Mo can be seen to be “telling on” Me to B. This works to support B’s authority by giving her “problematic” information about Me. She also informs Me that she is going to end up hurting her eyes in the future. B supports and agrees with Mo in turn 95 and 97. In turn 96, Mo reissues the order, “[Take em)] out now.=”, and then B aligns with Mo by providing an account for why Me should take her contacts out. Finally, in turn 99, there is a denial of the order and, so, a rejection of the advice.

### **B & Family**

- 99 Me: I WILL (.) TAKE ‘EM [OUT WHEN I GO TO BE:D!]  
 100 Mo: [( )] But you shou-, you  
 should take ‘em out when you get ho:me. (.) You get home at six, seven,  
 eight, nine. You should [take em ou:t.]  
 101 B: [But since] she doesn’t slee:p its, kinda convenient that he(h)r  
 co(h)nta(h)cts never come ou:t.  
 ((pause))  
 102 ?: HH=  
 103 Mo =You shouldn’t sit here till three in the morning since you’ve had em in  
 all ↓day.  
 (.)  
 104 B: C’mon. Whaddaya thinking [about]

Goldsmith and Fitch’s (1997) study provides useful information to explain the rejection of advice by Me. The researchers wrote about advice by a sibling being explained by a woman named Martha who stated, “We’re so close in age and everything, to offer suggestions would seem like ‘See, I have my life so together I know just what you ought to do about yours’” (p. 460). So, according to this explanation, B is making claims about her satisfactory life and working to try to fix Me’s. As B is claiming authority, Me negotiates authority by refusing to take action on the orders issued by Mo



and B. She also accomplishes this refusal by speaking at a loud volume. Goldsmith and Fitch's (1997) study explained that post adolescents were extremely sensitive to parents' advice and often considered it inappropriate or "butting in." While Me is not yet a postadolescent, she is a daughter who is negotiating her right to be autonomous since "butting in" can threaten a recipient's sense of self worth and autonomy. Giving advice and orders are similar in that they both give direction of what should be done in the future. By refusing to comply with the order, Me claims authority and challenges B's authority.

As discussed previously, the order has now been rejected, and Mo and B continue supporting their case, and Mo offers advice in turn 100. She explains to Me that "you should take 'em out when you get ho:me. (.) You get home at six, seven, eight, nine. You should [take em ou:t.]" Mo restates part of the previously given order, "[take em ou:t.]", in this turn. B uses what appears to be sarcasm in turn 101, and insults Me's sleeping habits/actions. Recall that then in turn 103, Mom gives further support for the previously provided advice, that was resisted by Me, and also gives Me direction about what she should not do: "...sit here till three in the morning since you've had em in all ↓day." For the last time in this conversation, B claims a motherly/authoritative identity in turn 104 when she says, "C'mon. Whaddaya thinking [about]". This identity is one of expertise that has been constructed throughout the entire advice episode. There is no actual receipt of the advice in this conversation because D, a younger sister in the room, distracts attention from Me by beginning to sing, and the topic is shifted.

Constructing the advice in "order" form is used by Mo and B to claim authority. When this is met by resistance from Me, Mo "softens" the advice, thus, addressing face

concerns. It is important to note that while Mo and B “soften” the advice, they continue to claim authority by “giving face” to one another and working to continue the advice episode. Mo and B “downplay” the claim of authority by reformatting the advice and by soliciting the participation of Me in problem construction and the issuing of advice. Me is able to resist problem construction and the advice-giving by providing minimal uptake and by rejecting both. These actions challenge Mo’s and B’s claims of authority, thus, claiming authority for Me.

### *L&K Relational Identities*

L&K also use the advice episode analyzed here in their construction of relational identities. Recall that L (age 20) and K (age 17) are sisters who are sitting in front of the television and K has told her sister that she is “having second thoughts” about her boyfriend moving in with her family. L claims both authority and supportiveness in this conversation and K’s actions support these claims.

### **L&K**

- 1 K: I: (.) I know this is bad ↓ti:ming and all: (.) but I’m ↑kinda having second thoughts. ((laughs)) ((pause)) Doesn’t matter though cause he’s (.) ↓comin’ (.) either way °but°. ((pause)) Oka:y. (.) ( ) ((la[ughs]))
- 2 L: [ ( ) ]
- 3 K: I(h)t su(h)cks. ((laughs)) (.) Like. ((laughs)) ((pause)) ↑You don’t actually play (this) for people though ↓right.=
- 4 L: =No.=
- 5 K: =>Okay good.< (.) Then I don’t care. ((pause))
- 6 L: So: (.) you’re having second thoughts about him moving ↑in or about (.) everything dating him altogether.=
- 7 K: =Oh, no:, him ↓moving ↓in. (.) I love ‘im. I (.) don’t have a problem °dating him but° \*I don know ‘bout this whole moving in thing.\* ((pause))

K's turn 1 constructs a problem, so, advice is one relevant next action that may be taken by the recipient. Consistent with a troubles-talk episode, K laughs at the end of her turn to show that she can take the situation a bit lightly (Jefferson, 1984a). In turn 3, K elaborates her explanation of the troublesome situation with "I(h)t su(h)cks. ((laughs))". After resolving the concern about the tape recorder (see Advice Episodes section), L asks for more information about the problem in turn 6 and, so, contributes to problem construction. As previously noted, this question, "So: (.) you're having second thoughts about him moving ↑in or about (.) everything dating him altogether.=" solicits further elaboration and clarification of K's problem. L is supportive because she is orienting to the concerns that K has made a topic. K self-repairs her utterance in turn 7. She restates the problem in the final TCU of this turn by stating, "I (.) don't have a problem °dating him but° \*I don know 'bout this whole moving in thing.\*". The problem has, then, been co-constructed by both sisters.

L negotiates a very interesting dual identity in this conversation. She takes on an "advisory role" with her little sister without actually issuing advice. Once the problem is constructed, L begins asking questions that can be heard as suggestions of what her sister might do about the problem and these questions further develop the problem by seeking more information about it. They also minimize its problematic nature and, so, L works to resist problem construction.

### L&K

- 8 L: Didn't you think about that when you said it was o↑kay?  
 9 K: Well oh=↑kay. (.) It wasn't so much a re↑ality then and (.) it didn't hit me (.) like him actually living here (.) until like (.) this week? (.) When it's like (.) this wee:kend. Ya know? ((laughs))  
 10 L: Yeah-. (.) ↑Wu:ll ↑like how much are you around at the same time anyway. ((pause))

- 11 K: It's not even the- the being around him it's just-
- 12 L: °Th-° That you can't really get away from him.=
- 13 K: =Ye:°s°. Like it sounds so me:an bu:t (.) there's times ↑when it's like I wanna go out with the girls, and (.) ↑living with him:, I'm jus gonna te:nd to (.) >spend all my time with< him. (.) Ya know and I don wa:nt it to be like that because if by some chance we do break ↑up I'm cutting off all my ↑relationships like with ↑anybody else [ya know.]
- 14 L: [You  
↑haven't] done that yet. (.) Have you talked to him about it?  
((pause))
- 15 K: Sort of. We've <talked about it (.) but-> (.) this is sort of a new feeling for me so I don- °I haven't really said anything.° (.) I'm not gonna tell him I have second thoughts of him living with °me°.
- 16 L: No but I mean (.) talked about having to have space and stuff like that.=
- 17 K: =↑Ye:ah.
- 18 L: I mean I ↑imagine he likes to go out with the guys ↓too:.  
((pause))
- 19 K: He doesn't really have too many (.) ↓gu:ys:. ((pause)) Because ((pause)) wu:ll (.) he ↓does. But ↓like he's not such good friends with them °anymore°.=
- 20 L: =W[hy.]
- 21 K: [°as he] usta be.° (.) They sort of ((pause)) ditched 'em. °I don know.°  
((pause))
- 22 L: But will it be different when like (.) basketball comes around an stuff?  
((pause))
- 23 K: ((laughs)) (.) >That sucks.<  
((pause))
- 24 L: >Karen.<=
- 25 K: =Wha:t?
- 26 L: Will it be different when ↓like basketball comes around an stuff.

In turn 11, K reports that being around her boyfriend is not the problem and L aligns with her little sister in turn 12 by finishing K's description of the nature of the problem. In turn 13, K confirms that L is correct and goes on to further elaborate her concerns in turn 13 by stating, "I'm jus gonna te:nd to (.) >spend all my time with< him. (.) Ya know and I don wa:nt it to be like that because if by some chance we do break ↑up I'm cutting off all my ↑relationships like with ↑anybody else". In turn 14, L asks, "Have you talked to him about it?". Note that this turn is in question form and that the content of the question

includes a course of action that might resolve K's "second thoughts". Hence, it can be heard as "advice-like." K responds by telling L that they have "Sort of" talked about the issue but that she is "not gonna tell him I have second thoughts of him living with °me°.". Initiating repair once again in turn 16, L works to clarify the meaning of her sister's prior utterance and K states that "↑Ye:ah", they have talked about the issue.

L manages in this conversation to do the work of a "supportive big sister" by working against problem construction and, also, the issuing of advice. The questions asked by L are in alignment with K's conversational actions, but they do not work to problematize her situation. In turn 14 she asks, "Have you talked to him about it?", and in turn 22 (and reissued in turn 26) she asks, "But will it be different when like (.) basketball comes around an stuff?". All of these questions align with K's actions and concerns, and they all bring up different subtopics of the situation. Also, L works to minimize the severity of K's concern. After K explains her concerns about her boyfriend moving in with the family, L states (in turn 18), "I mean I ↑imagine he likes to go out with the guys ↓too:.". If he "likes to go out with the guys ↓too:", then the concern K has raised is unlikely to result in a serious problem. Thus, L supports K by addressing her concerns but minimizing their problematic nature.

L's actions in this conversation work to support her sister without actually advising her. L's actions are "advice-like" because while not overtly issuing advice, she provides information that is relevant to resolving her sister's problem. By not offering direct advice, L does not claim the authority. She, therefore, addresses the face concerns that arise by advising. L also manages to do the work of a "supportive big sister" by avoiding problematizing K's concerns while still addressing them. K supports these

actions by L by aligning with them. Thus, the two sisters work to co-construct L's claim of supportiveness and, so, their relational bond.

### *Discussion*

This segment of this Findings chapter demonstrates how sisters use advice episodes to construct relational identities. The sisters worked to claim authority, challenge authority, and to do the “relationship work” necessary to their sibling bond. During problem construction, potential advice-recipients often interactionally resisted their sisters' conversational actions which made accomplishing this task more challenging. The potential advice-givers often worked to treat the problem as a “delicate,” asked questions that solicited their sisters' participation in the advice episode, and “downplayed” authority claims. The use of these resources demonstrates that the sisters paid considerable interactional attention to addressing the face and relational concerns raised by the issuing of advice. They negotiated authority and support throughout the advice episodes and, so, negotiated their relational identities in these everyday conversations.

### *Conclusions*

This study of sisters' co-construction of naturally-occurring advice episodes produced findings that contribute importantly to current understandings of this particular conversational activity and family members' ongoing negotiation of relational identities. The study also, however, contributes significantly to interpersonal communication scholarship in that the methodology employed produced data (and, so, findings) that challenge continued reliance upon more traditional methods of study and models of interpersonal communication.

First, while most interpersonal communication studies of supportive communication and, so, advice, focused on the acts of giving, receiving, and seeking advice, this study investigated naturally-occurring advice episodes and this resulted in the identification of a three-part, sequentially ordered interaction which the siblings in this study routinely constructed. These sequentially ordered conversational activities began with problem construction, which often, but not always, progressed to the issuing of advice and when this occurred, receipt of the advice. Importantly, problem construction was influenced by who initiated the activity. When the potential advice-giver was the initiator, much more interactional work was often necessary to accomplish this task because the potential advice-recipient utilized multiple conversational resources to resist construction of his or her “problem” and, so, delayed the delivery of the advice. Hence, problem construction, a previously understudied and often ignored component of naturally-occurring advice episodes, is critically important to explanations of the nature and impact of offering advice to a close relational partner.

Second, it was found that the construction of advice episodes served siblings in their ongoing negotiation of relational identities and, so, the sibling relational bond. All the participants of this study, advice-givers and advice-recipients alike, utilized both “facework” and “relationship work” in their co-construction of the advice episode. Advice-givers did this by often “downplaying” claims of authority, delivering the advice in question form, and treating the construction of the problem and the issuing of the advice as a “delicate” (Pomerantz, 1984). Advice-recipients, on the other hand, often delayed delivery of the advice, claimed existing knowledge of the proffered course of action, and challenged or questioned the advice-givers’ claims of authority and, thereby,

enhanced their own claims of **authority**. It is clear, then, that naturally-occurring, everyday conversations are **siblings' primary** resource for constructing relational identities, hence, this study **further** **our understanding** of the most enduring relationships of most people's lives.

Finally, this study **contributes to the study** of human communication and interpersonal communication because **the findings** are important to both the traditional interests of and the traditional **methodologies employed** by interpersonal communication researchers. The method employed **here answers the** call of many interpersonal communication scholars (see Chapter 1) **for adopting** a more social approach to the study of interpersonal communication. The **use of conversation analysis**, a fundamentally social approach, provided new knowledge about **everyday advice** episodes and close relational partners' use of them. Consequently, **further study** of close relational partners' everyday conversation with methods that **provide for the close study** of those conversations appears to be both warranted and necessary to **explain interpersonal** communication.



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## Appendix A

### *Transcript Notation Conventions*

The purpose of transcribing **conversation** is to obtain a detailed description of the talk as it is actually said and heard by the **interactants**, rather than as it would be represented in written discourse. Utterances are, **therefore**, transcribed as they are heard, up to the point of unrecognizability or presumed **reader confusion**. The standard transcript notation system used by most conversation **analysts** was developed by Gail Jefferson and can be found in J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, (Eds.). (1984). *Structures of social action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turns of talk are numbered consecutively and speakers are identified in this section by either the first initial of the first name or by the first initial of the speaker's family relational identity, e.g., F=Father, M=Mother, D=Daughter, etc.

[   ] : Mark simultaneous utterances (overlaps) at the start and end of the overlap.

= : Marks both (a) contiguous utterances (where there is no interval/pause between turns) and (b) the different parts of one speaker's continuous flow of speech which has been carried over to the next line following an overlap.

Pauses are either marked where they occur in double parentheses ((pause)), or they are timed in tenths of a second and enclosed in single parentheses, e.g. (0.6). A very small interval, less than three tenths of a second, is marked with (.).

A hyphen – marks a short, abrupt stop at the end of a word.

A colon following a sound marks the speaker's extension of that sound.

A period indicates a stopping fall in tone.

A comma indicates a continuing intonation.

A question mark indicates the rising inflection typically accompanying Yes/No questions.

A combined question mark/comma indicates a rising intonation weaker than that indicated by a question mark.

An exclamation mark indicates an animated, exclamatory tone.

↑ - marks raised pitch on the syllable or word following it.

↓ - marks lowered pitch on the syllable or word following it.

Underline -- indicates stress.

CAPITALS -- mark the talk as louder than surrounding talk.

° ° degree signs enclose talk which is lower in volume than surrounding talk.

(h) : marks an audible exhalation. Such sounds can constitute a laugh token, a sigh, or a comment on the talk. More "h's" indicate a longer exhalation and capitals indicate a louder one.

(.h) : marks an audible inhalation. More ".h's" indicate a longer inhalation and capitals indicate a louder one.

A (gh) with in word indicates it is said with a guttural quality.

(( )) : mark various speech sounds where they occur, e.g. ((coughs)) ((laughs)) ((groans)) ((snorts)), or other details of the conversational scene, e.g. ((door closes)), or characterizations of the talk, e.g. ((whispered)).

> < : enclose speech which is spoken at a faster rate than surrounding speech.

( ) : marks transcriptionist doubt about the utterance and may be empty if the talk is completely unrecoverable or filled with what was apparently said.

Gaze can also be transcribed for use with video-taped data.

...: indicate that part of an utterance has been left out.

.

.

. Vertical ellipses indicate that intervening turns at talk have been left out.

- A bullet denotes "smile-voice."

## Appendix B

The following is a conversation between two sisters called R and C. R is age 26 and C is age 22. R is visiting home after being away at college (she enrolled again after taking about a three year break) and C lives at home after just graduating a semester ago. The women are sitting in their living room with their dog, and the television is playing in the background.

- 1 R: Ah:: ((pause)) \*Those were dam: good ↑coo:kies.\* ((pause)) Yeah I told mom that Eric wannned polish sausage and sauerkraut and she went ↓oh. ((pause))  
[(h)(h)(h)=
- 2 C: [Eh-]
- R: = ((laughs)) •I'm like ↑ma:ke some ↓ma:•
- 3 C: It's not the easiest thing in the world to m↑a:ke (.) kid=
- 4 R: =I: ↓know. ((pause)) But- (.) an I'm like (.) so ah: when are you all comin' ta visit. (.) And she's like why:. (.) I said cuz I'm really sick an tired: of eatin' generic ass groceries. I said you have no idea how bad generic ↑sou:p tastes.
- 5 C: Robin, they never came ta visit me.
- 6 R: And she's like (.) so that's all there is an you need me ta visit. I said uh huh.
- 7 C: So why don' you just (.) get groceries he:re. (.) (HH[H])
- 8 R: [I] don't ↑kno:w.=
- 9 C: =Or why don' you jus' suck it up an go ta ↓Walmart.
- 10 R: Wull I did, I wen to both places after I found out how shitty the food there was. ↑Some of the things are ↑okay but some of the things are really ↓gross. ((pause)) °Ya kno:w° like the three gallon jugs of water for less than two dollars. [That]'s sweet.
- 11 C: [Right]  
((pause))
- 12 C: Like your po:p.
- 13 R: ↓Oh ↓no I've gotta have good ↓stuff.

- 14 C: You can't have generic pop, Robin it's all the >same dam thing.<
- 15 R: Na::h, it goes flat. The ↓coke does. (.) >I jus' bought< ↑two liters (.) [an] we've been=
- 16 C: [Oh]
- R: =splittin' those ya know:=
- 17 C: =Oh that's °(↓silly)°=
- 18 R: =Cuz I'm not drinkin' tha much they ha[ve the] (.) Arizona iced tea jugs? (.)
- 19 C: [( )]
- 20 C: Uh huh=
- 21 R: =h:o:!=
- 22 C: =Those are good.=
- 23 R: =That's lasted me an entire week.
- 24 C: Yeah [I like those]
- 25 R: [It's jus'] me: (.) but I forgot to buy \*↓ju:ice (.) <°↓so (.) I'll have to buy ↓juice.\*°>
- 26 C: Ya know what (.) I'm not a juice girl that (.) <likes ta make juice.>
- 27 R: [No:]
- 28 C: [I] don like the juice when its- when I have ta make it=
- 29 R: =Oh, I like tropicana twister juice. (.) Like Ko(h)ol (h) Aid ↓jui(h)ce
- 30 C: ( ) [( )]
- 31 R: [Maybe I] should just buy Kool Aid ((pause)) [( )]
- 32 C: [That's not] good for you  
at a:ll:.
- 33 R: I know. (.) So I need ↓ju:ice.

34 C: If you're going to **get calories from juice** you might [as well get the nutrients too]

35 R: [Might as well drink juice] (.)  
Ya know mom's yellin' °**at me about ↓vitamins.** (.) I'm like (ye[ah wull])°

36 C: [Are ya] taking  
your vitamins?

37 R: I said I'm havin' a **hard enough time** right now takin' my dam pill in the mornin'

38 C: I never: (.) I never took my vitamins.

The conversation continues with **more discussion** on the topic of vitamins.

## Appendix C

The following is a conversation recorded between two twin sisters, "M" and "A". A is having trouble with her human physiology class, and M is proposing an idea that may help. The conversation is taking place in the chapter room of their sorority house. The altered voice A takes is that of a stuffed animal named Snookie she plays with. Snookie is designated as S and as a separate interactant here. Both the women are twenty years old.

1 M: •(S(h)o d(h)o you want to hear• about the- the ↓grade idea I had for you-

2 A: Oh for me:?=

3 M: =Yeh-.

4 A: Oh is it actually for me?=-

5 M: =Yeh-.

6 A: Oh:. Okay.=

7 M: =It's so you can get (.) a better grade in Human (.) •Phys:iology•(hh).=

8 A: =↓O:↑kay.

((tape break))

9 M: (( ) Okay- (.) So (.) you know how you took that test with) Shi:zuchard?  
(.)

10 A: Yes:.=

11 M: =And it said you were an ↑audio learner?  
((pause)) [( )]

12 A: [W]ell it said I was an ↑audio learner but then it said I was the ↑other one: = More so than the ↑audio learner. Whadaya want me to record cla:ss?  
(.)

13 M: Yeh (maybe). [Re]cord. But- (they) also- (.) (That) ↑a↓so (means) you have to=

14 A: [(oh)]

M: =go to class:.  
((pause))

Because if you're a  $\uparrow$ audio learner $\uparrow$ , then going to class would help you  $\downarrow$ learn.  
 ((laughs))=

15 A: =Ye:h (I know). (.) °I **went tah class**  $\uparrow$ Mon(h)day: ((laugh)), and I'm goin to class tomorrow.°  
 ((pause))

16 M: O fokay, (.) >well you **have to go all the t(h)ime**.< ((laugh))

17 A: (Yeh) ((pause)) (noise in **background**)

18 S: ((gestures))

19 M:  $\uparrow$ Snookie, whada you doin'?'  
 ((pause))

20 S: °Mommy hates you.°

21 A: ((lau[gh]))

22 M: [Mommy] hates me?

23 S: °Yes.°

24 M: Why:?

25 S: °Cuz°

26 M: [Ooh, and then I had this]

27 L: [HEY (.) AL] Eric called and left a **message** on the machine.  
 (.)

28 A: Whadid he want.

29 L: \*I donknow, a ma:kin' a protein shake and I got some studyin' tah do:\* >He- he said call in  $\uparrow$ like the chapter room.<  
 (.)

30 A: Mmkay=

31 M: =And then. I had this other id $\uparrow$ ea (.) that we: could go tuh the library together, (.) once a  $\uparrow$ week. In  $\uparrow$ whichcase we would be studying, even if we don't have something tah study for. (.) So: like  $\downarrow$ say, >you don't have something tah study  $\uparrow$ for <=



32 A: =Uhhuh=

33 M: =>Then you still have tuh study.<=

34 A: Whe:n do you wan tah do ↑tha:t.

35 M: >I donknow.< (.) I was gonna ask you when you wanned tah do it.=

36 A: =Oh:  
((pause))

37 M: Like, it could be like different every ↑we:ek.=

38 A: =Uh, huh  
((pause))

39 M: (But.) (.) >Do you see what I'm saying. Like< you don't always need a reason to study (.) that class. (.) Because you're obviously having ↑problems with it. An so is everyone else in the class. (.) Ya know?=  
(.)

40 A: =Yeh=

41 M: =So: everyone else is doing something wrong to(h)o:. (.) When they're: (.) doing that. ((pause)) >I donknow.< I was j- this is what I think about. (.) ((laugh))  
W(h)en I sit around.  
(.)

42 A: ↓O:ka:y:.  
((pause))

## Appendix D

*Segment 1*

B and Me are sisters. In this segment, B (age 20) and Me (age 15) are watching television. B is home for college on a short break.

- 1 Me: I'm like (.) ↓co:ld but I'm no:t.=
- 2 B: =Maybe you sh↑ould put ↑on something ↑warmer.
- 3 Me: ↑I kn↑ow.=
- 4 B: =How can you wear short sle:eves in this cold weather.
- 5 ( ): ( )
- 6 Me: °It's pretty easy actually. (Because, I don't like how I look in long sleeve shirts)°
- 7 B: You don't like how you look in a long sleeve shirt.
- 8 Me: ( )

*Segment 2*

In this segment of the conversation, Mom (Mo), B (age 20), Me (age 15), and D (age 13) the women are at home and it is after dinner. B is home from college on a short break. It is very late at night (actually the very early morning). The women are discussing an issue with Me's contact lenses.

- 84 ?: [( )]
- 85 Mo: [Uh] (.) [( ) ha]ve (her) contacts in.
- 86 B: [↑ME:GAN (.) ↑BA:CH!]
- 87 ?: [( )]
- 88 Me: [↑Wha:t?]
- 89 Mo: [Brandy] sh↑ouldn't she have those out (.) by now?=  
 =

- 90 B: =>Don't your< ↑eye↓balls (.) hurt you.
- 91 Me: No.=
- 92 B: =They should. Take em out.=
- 93 ?: =[((laughs))]
- 94 Mo: =[She sle]eps in 'em all the time. Which is- you're gonna end up hurting your eyes in the future.=
- 95 B: =[Yeah]
- 96 Mo: [(Take em)] out now.=
- 97 B: =You don't wanna ruin yer eyeballs, [so that you hafta wear glasses] all=
- 98 Mo: [(your eyes have no)]
- B: = the time.
- 99 Me: I WILL (.) TAKE 'EM [OUT WHEN I GO TO BE:D!]
- 100 Mo: [( )] But you shou-, you should take 'em out when you get ho:me. (.) You get home at six, seven, eight, nine. You should [take em ou:t.]
- 101 B: [But since] she doesn't slee:p it's, kinda convenient that he(h)r co(h)nta(h)cts never come ou:t.  
((pause))
- 102 ?: HH=
- 103 Mo: =You shouldn't sit here till three in the morning since you've had em in all ↓day.  
(.)
- 104 B: C'mon. Whaddaya thinking [about]
- 105 Mo: [You] don''t seem to understand that
- 106 ?: [( )]
- 107 D: [((sings)) N↑o::body kn↑o:ws ( ) N↑o::body kn↑o:ws]=

108 ?:        [((laughs))]

D:            =[my sorro↓ws.]=

109 Me:       =Okay. That is not going to put me(h) ta sleep.

110 D:        ((sings)) ↑No::body ↑kno:ws

111 Me:       [((laughs))]

112 Mo:       [((laughs))]

113 B:        [What are you s↑ing↓ing? ((laughs)) What are you ↑sing↓ing?]

114 D:        [((sings)) ↑What I've ↑seen- the AHH LAY LUU YUUH!]

## Appendix E

Linda (L) (age 20) and Karen (K) (age 17) are sisters. The conversation takes place in the girls' family room at home. They are sitting and watching TV. K's boyfriend Bob is now moving in with K's family due to financial issues in his own family. K has just told L that she is having second thoughts about Bob moving in.

- 1 K: I: (.) I know this is bad ↓ti:ming and all: (.) but I'm ↑kinda having second thoughts. ((laughs)) ((pause)) Doesn't matter though cause he's (.) ↓comin' (.) either way °but°. ((pause)) Oka:y. (.) ( ) ((la[ughs]))
- 2 L: [ ( ) ]
- 3 K: I(h)t su(h)cks. ((laughs)) (.) Like. ((laughs)) ((pause)) ↑You don't actually play (this) for people though ↓right.=
- 4 L: =No.=
- 5 K: =>Okay good.< (.) Then I don't care.  
((pause))
- 6 L: So: (.) you're having second thoughts about him moving ↑in or about (.) everything dating him altogether.=
- 7 K: =Oh, no:, him ↓moving ↓in. (.) I love 'im. I (.) don't have a problem °dating him but° \*I don know 'bout this whole moving in thing.\*  
((pause))
- 8 L: Didn't you think about that when you said it was o↑kay?
- 9 K: Well oh=↑kay. (.) It wasn't so much a re↑ality then and (.) it didn't hit me (.) like him actually living here (.) until like (.) this week? (.) When it's like (.) this wee:kend. Ya know? ((laughs))
- 10 L: Yeah-. (.) ↑Wu:ll ↑like how much are you around at the same time anyway.  
((pause))
- 11 K: It's not even the- the being around him it's just-
- 12 L: °Th-° That you can't really get away from him.=
- 13 K: =Ye:°s°. Like it sounds so me:an bu:t (.) there's times ↑when it's like I wanna go out with the girls, and (.) ↑living with him:, I'm jus gonna te:nd to (.) >spend all my time with< him. (.) Ya know and I don wa:nt it to be like that because if by

some chance we do break ↑up I'm cutting off all my ↑relationships like with  
↑anybody else [ya know.]

14 L: [You ↑haven't] done that yet. (.) Have you talked to him about it?  
((pause))

15 K: Sort of. We've <talked about it (.) but-> (.) this is sort of a new feeling for me so I  
don- °I haven't really said anything.° (.) I'm not gonna tell him I have second  
thoughts of him living with °me°.

16 L: No but I mean (.) talked about having to have space and stuff like that.=

17 K: =↑Ye:ah.

18 L: I mean I ↑imagine he likes to go out with the guys ↓too:.  
((pause))

19 K: He doesn't really have too many (.) ↓gu:ys:. ((pause)) Because ((pause)) wu:ll (.)  
he ↓does. But ↓like he's not such good friends with them °anymore°.=

20 L: =W[hy.]

21 K: [°as he] usta be.° (.) They sort of ((pause)) ditched 'em. °I don know.°  
((pause))

22 L: But will it be different when like (.) basketball comes around an stuff?  
((pause))

23 K: ((laughs)) (.) >That sucks.<  
((pause))

24 L: >Karen.<=

25 K: =Wha:t?

26 L: Will it be different when ↓like basketball comes around an stuff.